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ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

Transactions

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1919

Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 12, 1919

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

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THE PRESIDENTS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circulars letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the cooperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such cooperation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The name of this Society shall be the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEC. 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its people.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors, of which board the President of the Society shall be ex officio a member.

SEC. 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The board of directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a Secretary and a Treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

SEC. 3. The directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the board of directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants, together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled, "An Act to add a new section to an act entitled, 'An Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor,'" approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

SEC. 5. Vacancies in the board of directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

SEC. 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither President nor Vice President shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a President *pro tempore*.

SEC. 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the board of directors. The Treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the board of directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the board of directors within such time prior to the annual meetings as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes, to wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding, and Honorary.

SEC. 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the board of directors.

SEC. 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

SEC. 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archaeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may, upon the recommendation of the board of directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly credited representative at each meeting of the Society, who shall, during the period of his appointment, be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

SEC. 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

SEC. 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the board of directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

SEC. 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

SECTION 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the board of directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said board of directors to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

SEC. 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the board of directors. Special meetings of the boards of directors may be called by the President or any two members of the board.

SEC. 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided,* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the board of directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

(Members please read this appeal.)

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian tribes, and American archæology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, cooperative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to all wars in which Illinois has taken part, especially material illustrating Illinois' part in the late great world war and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire.

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the War of the Rebellion or other wars; biographies of the pioneers; prominent citizens and public men of every county, either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlements of every township, village, and neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade and commercial associations; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons or addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superinten-

dents, and school committees; educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governor's messages and reports of State officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery; paintings; portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins, medals, paintings; portraits; engravings; statuary; war relics; autograph letters of our soldiers in in the service, or of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc., sketches of prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities, and implements; also, stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the State house as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Members of the Society are urged to help in the preservation of all historical material relating to the part taken by Illinois in the World war. Now is the time for this work.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

(Mrs.) Jessie Palmer Weber.

PART I

Record of Official Proceedings

1919

TWENTIETH ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was called to order in the Supreme Court Room, Springfield, Illinois, at 10:30 o'clock, May 12, 1919, the President of the Society, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, presiding. Doctor Schmidt called the meeting to order and asked the Secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, to read the minutes of the last meeting, which she did. Mrs. Weber called the attention of the members of the Society to the fact that last year was a special centennial meeting, the annual business meeting being held on the 15th of May.

On motion, the minutes were approved and placed on file.

The President then called for the report of the Secretary, which was read. Mrs. Weber stated that in the report of the Secretary given last year a great deal of the present report was incorporated but that she would repeat it as it may be of interest. It had been read to the directors and by them referred to the Society. On motion, it was approved and placed on file.

The report of the Genealogical Committee was called for by the President. Miss Georgia L. Osborne, chairman of that committee, gave her report. It was moved and seconded that this report be received and placed on file.

Further reports were called for. Mrs. Weber made the report for the program committee.

Doctor Schmidt asked that Mrs. Weber make a few remarks on the progress of the work on the Centennial Building. He stated that after many many years there was now the promise of a permanent home for the Society.

Mrs. Weber spoke of the crowded condition of the Library and said it now looked as though the realization of the dream of many years was to come to pass. The plans for the new building are practically ready, although plans for the interior are not entirely completed. Mr. Edgar S. Martin, the State Architect, has taken great interest in the work of the Library. He is much interested in Lincoln, and it is a labor of love for him. The building will provide for the State Historical Library, Natural History Museum, the State Library and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. There will be adequate book stacks, a beautiful small assembly room which will take care of about 500 and will be used for meetings of the Society, and various other purposes for which a small assembly room will be convenient. Adequate stacks, consultation and study rooms, directors' rooms, facilities for shipping and above all storage facilities will be provided. Mrs. Weber said she should not say "above all" perhaps, but that the storage is very important, though our needs in all respects can be met, it is hoped in this

building, which will be a really modern fire proof building, with all that the term implies. Mrs. Weber spoke also of a Department of Archives, but stated that this matter was not entirely settled and said that the Secertary of State, in his official capacity, is the legal custodian of the archives. It has been suggested that a conference of archivists and historians be called in this city and that Mr. Emmerson be invited to issue the call and the matter of *State Archives* be thrashed out. A few years ago a bill was passed authorizing county authorities to deposit in the Historical Library archives which were no longer necessary for their current business. This law is not mandatory and so far no county commissioners have been anxious to part with these records. They say "your state house is no more fire proof than our court house.'

Mrs. Weber told how from time to time the Historical Society and Library have been compelled to decline gifts when the provision that the gift be placed in a fire proof building was one of the conditions. She stated that all of these objections would be removed within the next few years with the completion of the Centennial Memorial Building. One of the principal features of this building will be a Lincoln Hall, where will be shown our Lincoln relics, etc. Mrs. Weber then said that she would be glad to answer questions but that she was not enough of an architect to answer technical ones. She stated that the building will be beautiful and memorial in its character. The back of the building will be devoted to office rooms, etc.

Doctor Schmidt stated that the report of the chairman of the Illinois State Historical Library was in order, but that Professor Greene was not present at that time and his report would have to be deferred. He asked if there were any other reports. There being none the Society proceeded to the transaction of miscellaneous business. The President asked if there were any matters which any of the members would care to bring up for discussion.

Mr. Ensley Moore of Jacksonville thought that the matter of the county archives ought to be under the authority of the county judge. He stated that as a general rule the county commissioners were not the kind of men to take care of those things and thought this matter should be looked into. If necessary, he thought this change should be made by law, making the county judge the custodian of the county archives.

Mr. Dixon of Chicago, who is very much interested in genealogy, told of an experience of his at a county seat of one of the sister states and which he thought possibly occurred frequently in Illinois. The county he visited had recently erected a new court house and he had occasion to consult some of the earlier marriage records and land records. He was informed that when the records were moved into the new court house they ordered all of the old marriage records destroyed and he was told that some of the land records which were mildewed might as well be destroyed. Practically all their records previous to 1850 were destroyed.

Doctor Schmidt said he was glad Mr. Dixon spoke of the matter. He stated that about eight years ago the State Historical Library had all of the county records of the State examined by Messrs. Pease and Coles

and that their report was published. He said he thought it would be well that all of the people of the nation read that report, as it would show the neglect of these most important records. He stated that the subject was a complicated one and that action should be taken by legislation. That there should be a central organization to take charge of such records. In the report referred to, statement is made that the records of a number of county seats had been destroyed up to a later date even than 1850, and in other instances some of the earliest records in the State had been lost and officials do not know what they represented or where they are. There is no law that can be brought to bear on these county officials. In Missouri, through the efforts of Judge Douglas, the old records from St. Genevieve, New Madrid and other places have been deposited in the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, but that has not been possible in this State although attempts have been made by the Society.

Mr. Ensley Moore of Jacksonville moved that a committee on county archives be appointed, the President and Secretary of the Society to be ex officio members of that committee. This motion was seconded and carried.

Doctor Schmidt asked Mr. Moore if it was the sense of his motion that the President appoint this committee and Mr. Moore stated that it was.

Mrs. Weber then took up the subject of the war records and asked for expressions from the members on this subject.

Mrs. I. G. Miller of Springfield stated that she found that it was the sentiment of soldiers who were in camps in this country but who had never gone across (although willing to go but for reasons best known to the officials of the Union were never sent), that they ought not to be in that book. She said that she had this to contend with in her own family, her son and many of his friends contending that they should not be in such a history.

Mrs. Weber told of her nephew a volunteer in the navy who said "I didn't do Uncle Sam any good but I did my best." She said, "They are entitled to enrollment and were a part of the army. Mrs. Miller's son is too modest."

Mr. George W. Smith of Carbondale then spoke. He felt that the collection of clippings, etc., would be a poor way to preserve the material on the war history. That in the course of time it would be next to impossible to do anything with material so collected as it would be disjointed and disconnected. He told that in some counties such material was being commercialized. In Jackson County they are gathering up photographic material, biographical sketches, histories of campaigns, all to be put into a book and sold, the subscribers themselves to pay for it.

He stated that in most cases the matter of funds interfered with the collection of this material as far as private individuals was concerned. It takes time and is expensive. He suggested that some organizations in each county appoint an official collector to make this history. Lots of material could be gathered up by these men and saved

that otherwise would be lost. He thought the whole movement lacked organization. Somebody ought to think out a plan for uniformity, the work to be done locally if possible.

Mrs. Weber suggested that a county scrap book might contain a manuscript history of war activities, liberty loan drives, Red Cross, children's war gardens, any and all activities along this line.

Mr. Smith said there was no trouble now in getting the typewritten material to be put in bound volumes. He thought definite and uniform instructions should be sent out.

Mrs. Weber told of the circular that she had sent out. Mr. Smith stated that nothing had been done in his county.

Mrs. Weber spoke of the collections of the State Council of Defense and of the Adjutant General's records and said that she could see no reason why it should not be possible to have county scrap books with manuscript accounts of the various war organizations. She said that it should be the duty of somebody in each county, even if the Historical Society does not do it, to get the organizations to turn over these books and we will have an incomplete but at the same time a good source book for each of the 102 counties of the State. She said she would like a committee appointed to take up this work.

Doctor Schmidt said that Illinois had been derelict in gathering war material. He said that the State Council of Defense had intended to do this work and that its chairman, Mr. Insull, had planned it, thus dividing the work into the civilian part of the work and the military part. He told how the adjoining states had taken hold of this matter, the State of Minnesota planning at one time to send their secretary to France. Wisconsin, Michigan and Iowa are working hard in gathering this material. He also spoke of the bill before the Illinois House of Representatives for undertaking this work on a larger scale and thus to reach into each of the counties.

Mrs. Weber told how the material gathered by the State Historical Society would be source material for the preparation of historical works by the historian and asked that a committee be appointed.

Mrs. Arthur Huntington suggested that a uniform scrap book could be easily obtained by the Historical Society suggesting the size, etc.

Mr. H. E. Barker of Springfield asked if the work of Nellie Brown Duff did not apply in this case.

Mrs. Weber stated that the work of Miss Duff was confined to Sangamon County and that lots of material that we would get she could not; and later Miss Duff would come to the Historical Library and would cull from the collection made by that department such material as she would wish to use in her compilation.

Mr. H. E. Barker then made a motion that a committee of five to be called the Committee on War Records be appointed.

This motion was seconded by Mrs. I. G. Miller and carried.

Doctor Schmidt then asked if there was any further business. There being none he asked that some one move that a Nominating Committee be appointed. This motion was made by Mr. George W. Smith and carried.

Doctor Schmidt appointed Mrs. Isabel Jamison, Mrs. I. G. Miller, Mr. Henry Conway, Mr. L. J. Freese, Mr. J. H. Collins. Mr. Collins having left the meeting Mr. H. E. Barker was appointed in his place.

While the Nominating Committee was deliberating the program for the morning was continued. Mr. George A. Lawrence a close friend and neighbor of Col. Clark E. Carr of Galesburg, gave a memorial on Colonel Carr, late honorary president of the Society.

Mr. Clinton L. Conkling of Springfield moved that the thanks of the Society be tendered to Mr. Lawrence for his admirable address. Carried.

Doctor Schmidt asked that those assembled rise and stand for a few moments in deep respect for the memory of Colonel Carr. This being done he called attention to the fact that the Society had lost by death Judge J O. Humphrey who was always at the service of the Society and worked largely for the historical interests of the State. He asked again that the audience arise and stand for a few moments out of respect for the memory of Judge Humphrey.

The report of the Nominating Committee was called for and Mrs. Jamison, the chairman of the committee stated that it was the desire of the committee to nominate the officers who had served the Society so well and faithfully for the past year.

Doctor Schmidt asked what should be done with the report of the Nominating Committee. Mr. James M. Graham of Springfield moved the adoption of the report of the chairman of the committee which was made unanimous and the Secretary was authorized to cast the ballot of the Society for the election of the officers nominated by the committee.

This she did and the officers as suggested by the nominating committee were declared duly elected.

Mrs. Weber read the paper prepared by Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Chairman Woman's Committee Council National Defense, Illinois Division and member of the Illinois Council of Defense, who was not able to be present.

Judge Michael Girten of Chicago stated that word had been received of the illness of President E. J. James and thought that it would be appropriate if the Historical Society would send a telegram of condolence and best wishes. The motion of Judge Girten was seconded and carried and Mrs. Weber the Secretary of the Society was instructed to send the telegram.

Doctor Schmidt asked that a vote of thanks be extended to Mrs. Bowen for her paper. Mr. Graham moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Mrs. Bowen for her remarkable paper. Seconded and carried.

There being no further business the Society adjourned to meet at the afternoon session.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN: On May 19, 1899, almost exactly twenty years ago, a few persons interested in the History of Illinois met at the University of Illinois, Urbana, in response to a call issued at the State University and signed by Judge H. W. Beckwith, E. J. James, George N. Black, E. B. Greene, J. O. Cunningham, J. H. Burnham, David McCulloch and others interested in State history to form an Illinois State Historical Society.

The Illinois State Historical Library had then been in existence nearly ten years. The three members of the board of trustees of the Library were among the signers of the call. A temporary organization was formed with H. W. Beckwith of Danville, President, and E. B. Greene of the University of Illinois as Secretary. These officers were made permanent officers at the regular meeting of the Society held in Peoria the January following.

The Society has had five Presidents, Judge H. W. Beckwith, Dr. J. F. Snyder, Gen. Alfred Orendorff, Col. Clark E. Carr and Dr. O. L. Schmidt.

As I have stated the first Secretary was Prof. E. B. Greene. In the absence abroad of Professor Greene, Prof. J. W. Putnam served as Secretary. He was succeeded by J. McCan Davis, and in 1903 the present Secretary was elected.

In 1900 the Secretary reported that there were about sixty members of all classes. Today in my report you will learn that we have about fifteen hundred members and we have never made a membership campaign.

The Society is the largest State Historical Society in point of numbers in the United States.

At this our twentieth annual meeting the Secretary has the usual story of progress. In the *Journal* mention is made of the principal happenings of the Society and this report must be a repetition of much of this information and of that transmitted to the Board of Trustees of the Library in my report as Librarian.

THE CENTENARY OF THE STATE.

The observance of the Centennial of the State was an important part of the work of the Society for the year 1918. The Historical Society observed in cooperation with the Centennial Commission, December 3, 1917, April 17-18, 1918, and December 3, 1918.

The Historical Society also cooperated with the Springfield Ministerial Union in the observance of a Roosevelt Memorial meeting held in

the State Arsenal, February 9, 1919. As you, of course, remember, our principal meeting of the Centennial year was on April 18, the Centenary of the Enabling Act. This was our special Centennial meeting. The Constitution of the Society requires that the regular annual meeting be held in May each year. Accordingly on May 15, 1918, a meeting was held, a very small one, it is true, but a sufficient number of members of the Society were present to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The principal matter brought before the regular meeting was the question of the collection and preservation of the history of the part taken by Illinois in the great World War. Of this I will speak later. The special Centennial meeting was a notable one. The plan of the meeting was to have addresses from representatives of Virginia, and the States of the old Northwest Territory, of which Illinois had once been a part. Connecticut and New York had claims to parts of the Northwest Territory, though rather shadowy ones as far as it related to territory as far west as Illinois. The result of this plan was the presence of representatives from these various States, who gave us some splendid addresses which are printed in the Transactions of the Society.

The President of the Society, who is also chairman of the Centennial Commission, called the meeting to order and presided over the meeting of April 17. On the evening of the 18th, he introduced Governor Lowden as the presiding officer of the Centennial meeting and the Governor introduced the speakers of that evening.

Mr. H. J. Eckenrode represented Virginia, Prof. Elbert J. Benton of the Western Reserve University represented Ohio; Mr. Charles W. Moores, Indiana, and Prof. Allen Johnson of Yale University represented Connecticut. All made admirable addresses. The Centennial address was presented by Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft. His subject was "Illinois, the Land of Men."

A letter from President John H. Finley of the University of New York was read. Mr. Finley had expected to attend the meeting, but was called away to head the Palestine Relief Expedition. He was born in Illinois and retains his devotion to his native State, though his duties take him far away from his beloved prairies.

A most inspiring address was delivered by M. Louis Aubert of the French High Commission to the United States. Its title was a "Message From France." Mr. Aubert surprised everyone by his knowledge of Illinois History and the message he brought was touching and inspiring.

It would be interesting to recount for you the different observances and those held by different local associations throughout the State, but I will only mention those in which the Historical Society officially took part.

On December 3, 1918, Illinois completed her first Century of Statehood. A meeting was held in the House of Representatives, with Governor Lowden as presiding officer. Lieutenant Governor John G. Oglesby gave an historical address on the office of Lieutenant Governor of the State. Hon. James H. Cartwright told us about the Supreme Court of Illinois and Speaker of the House, Hon. David E. Shanahan

gave an address on the office of Speaker of the House, and an account of the eminent men who have occupied that position.

The principal address of the occasion was by President John H. Finley, who had but a short time before returned from his mission to Palestine, and thus was able to make one of the principal addresses during the Centennial observance of his native State. Governor Lowden was much gratified at the success of the Centennial observance to which he gave enthusiastic support.

Membership.

The membership of the Society grows, though not rapidly, as we make no campaigns for members. Our publications, which of course are sent to all members of the Society, are so expensive, paper, labor and all printing materials have advanced to such an extent during the war, with no apparent decrease in sight, as to make our publications real luxuries.

When the Centennial Memorial building is completed and we have adequate quarters, we ought to make a campaign for members. At present very large editions of our volumes are out of the question, on account of their expense, lack of storage and shipping space, lack of library force to handle the books, and many other reasons.

Some of our members constantly work in the Society's interest, telling the best citizens of the State of its work and interesting them. This results in many new and desirable members, who are most welcome.

The membership now includes: Nineteen honorary members, twenty life members, 1466 annual members. This list includes officials of the State of Illinois to whom publications are sent; and in addition there are 273 newspaper or Press Association members, 353 Libraries and Historical Societies in Illinois, to which we send our publications; and 158 Libraries and Historical Societies outside the State to which we send our publications on an exchange basis. A total of 2289 volumes are sent. Our editions are but three thousand, and so we are left only about seven hundred copies above our first distribution. These are soon exhausted. As we have practically no storage space, and are storing precious material in warehouses out in town, we cannot keep large supplies of our back numbers on hand, so they are soon out of print. Some time ago one of our members, Mr. H. E. Barker, advertised for publications of the Library and Society. I protested, saying if the State gives them away and you pay for them, you will place us in an embarrassing position, but he said I need not have been concerned, as none were presented for purchase.

Of course in the case of the death of a member of the Society and the sale of his effects or his library, our publications come on the market, but not in large quantities, and they command respectable prices. The book dealers' catalogues sometimes list them, but not more frequently than happens with all historical publications, or I believe it may be said, not more often than any other serial publications. I have never seen a complete set of the Library and Society publications offered for sale.

The Transactions of the Society for last year, 1918, are printed, waiting only for the Index. It will be an interesting number, as it contains the Centennial addresses.

The *Journal* is several numbers behind, but we are hoping to catch up and be on time within this year. The Centennial work has taken much time, and as you all know State printing is slow and when a piece of work is begun there are many vexations and delays. There is still another reason. The editor of the *Journal* earnestly requests more active cooperation from the Society. Contributions and suggestions are much desired. The editor is proud of the *Journal* and receives many kind and appreciative letters commending it. It is the organ of the Illinois State Historical Society and the editors wish it to be representative of the organization. It is your magazine. Help it to become a better representative of you.

The officers of the Society would like suggestions from the members for addresses for the annual meetings, both as to interesting or neglected topics and competent speakers.

Deaths of Members.

The Historical Society has suffered severely since my last report in its loss of members by the hand of death. Our beloved Honorary President, Clark E. Carr, passed away on March 28, 1919. Mr. Lawrence will address the Society on the services of Colonel Carr. Judge J Otis Humphrey of Springfield passed away on June 14, 1918. Judge Humphrey was a native of Morgan County, Illinois. He was born December 30, 1850, the son of William and Sarah Stocker Humphrey. Judge Humphrey was in his sixty-eighth year. The Humphrey family is of English extraction. The great grandfather of J Otis Humphrey was a Major in the Rhode Island Infantry in the War of the Revolution. Judge Humphrey graduated at Shurtleff College, Upper Alton, Illinois, and taught in that institution after his graduation. He studied law in Springfield in the office of Robinson, Knapp and Shutt, one of the most prominent legal firms in Central Illinois. In 1883, Mr. Humphrey formed a legal partnership with Henry S. Greene, a distinguished lawyer, and this partnership continued for sixteen years.

Mr. Humphrey as a young man had the happy faculty of inspiring the confidence and respect of older men. He was a great favorite with Hon. Milton Hay, and of Senator Shelby M. Cullom. He was very prominent in Republican politics in this State until his appointment by President McKinley in 1897 as Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Illinois. Mr. Humphrey belonged to a number of fraternal organizations. He was a very prominent member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and was a member of the Masonic fraternity.

Judge Humphrey was one of the group of devoted men who in 1909 formed the Lincoln Centennial Association to perpetuate, by yearly meetings on Lincoln's birthday, the name of Lincoln and the significance of the observance of his natal day. Judge Humphrey was president of the organization from its founding until his death.

He was very active in the affairs of his church, the Central Baptist Church in Springfield. He loved his native State and its history. He was an early member of the Historical Society. He prepared and read at the annual meeting of the Society, 1907, an able paper on the Baptist pioneer preacher and teacher, John Mason Peck, the founder of Shurtleff College. This address is published in the Society's Transactions for that year.

Judge Humphrey was married in 1879 to Miss Mary E. Scott, the daughter of the Rev. A. H. Scott, a Baptist clergyman. Mr. and Mrs. Humphrey had five children. A son, O. Scott Humphrey, a soldier in the service of the United States, who is still in France, and four daughters, Mary, Maude and Grace Humphrey, and Ruth, the wife of Mr. Booth Grunendike.

Judge Humphrey's chief happiness was in his family, and he took great pride in the work and attainments of his children. Mrs. Humphrey died in February, 1919. An adequate address on Judge Humphrey's career will be published in the *Journal* of the Society in an early number.

Biographical notices are published in the *Journal*. Please inform the Secretary if you have knowledge of the death of one of our members. Other members as far as known to me who have died since my last report are:

Avery N. Beebe, Yorkville, Ill., April 14, 1919.
Charles A. Bond, Chicago, September 25, 1918.
Mrs. J. McCan Davis, Chicago, September 23, 1918.
Dr. W. O. Ensign, Rutland, May 8, 1918.
Miner S. Gowin, McCune, Kansas, July 23, 1918.
Robert A. Gray, Blue Mound, December 3, 1918.
Ernest Hertzberg, Chicago, June 25, 1918.
John T. McComb, Chicago, 1918.
Miss Louise Maertz, Quincy, 1918.
James H. Matheny, Springfield, December 11, 1918.
Edwin S. Munroe, Joliet, October 4, 1918.
William A. Vincent, Chicago, March 21, 1919.
John F. Wicks, Decatur, February 5, 1919.
(Mr. Wicks was Secretary, Macon County Historical Society, a devoted and indefatigable historical worker.)
C. E. Wilson, Mattoon, 1918.

Collection of Historical Material Relating to the Great War.

Members of the Society, one of the most important pieces of historical work that is before you, one of the most important tasks that has confronted this or any Historical Society is the collection and preservation of material relating to the history of the great war just ending. A circular has been sent you calling your attention to this work. I make no further recommendations. It is rather, now, your duty to discuss this question in all its phases. The history of all the war activities is wanted. Letters, diaries, photographs of soldiers, all records and official reports, military matters, civilian war relief associations and children's

work. The circular letter sent you was only suggestive. If this Society can do any practical work it is this war history work. If some skilled historian shall write the history, it is our part and our duty to collect and preserve the material from which it can be written.

Members of the Society, I know you are interested in the work. Show your interest. Contribute to the Society by your presence at the meetings, and advice and suggestions. We have a strong and highly representative membership, let us make it the most effective.

Very respectfully,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY.

To the Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

I wish to report to the Society that we have published, and it will be ready for distribution in a short time, a supplemental list of the genealogical material in the Illinois State Historical Library. This will be No. 25 of the publications of the library and a supplement to publication No. 18, published in 1914.

This is a small edition but will be generally distributed to the libraries of the State and to those on our regular exchange list such as State Libraries and Societies, and to such members of the Historical Society as are working along this line.

Our reference work by mail increases, and we try to give it as much attention as we can, consistent with our other duties in the library.

As our books do not leave the department this necessitates a great deal of research work, besides the time given to copying the material necessary in order to supply the desired information.

We have had lately many valuable contributions in our Journal from members of the Society in the way of articles on family history. These have attracted attention, and many inquiries have been made concerning the writers and asking for additional information. We are still in search of county histories (which give biographical sketches of the pioneer families) in the southern states and those comprising the states that were formerly a part of the Northwest Territory.

As we mentioned in our last report, Mr. Ensley Moore continues in his newspaper articles in the Jacksonville Journal to contribute to the history of Morgan County the records of old families and events, which he sends to the department. I trust this will be taken up by other members of the Society in the various counties of the State and by them sent to us to be of use to students, working along genealogical lines.

I would suggest that the Committee on Genealogy in the Society be reorganized, as many on this committee like Mrs. E. S. Walker and Mrs. E. G. Crabbe have left the State, and others are unable to serve.

We appreciate the help we have received at different times from the members of the Society and ask their further cooperation, so that we can make this department of the library still more useful to students and workers.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Chairman, Genealogical Committee, Illinois State Historical Society.

PROGRAM.

Order of Exercises.

SUPREME COURT BUILDING.

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1919.

DR. O. L. SCHMIDT, *President of the Society*, Presiding.

9:00 o'Clock A. M.

Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society.

10:00 o'Clock A. M.

Annual Business Meeting of the Society.
Reports of Officers.
Reports of Committees.
Miscellaneous Business.
Election of Officers.

A Memorial of the Life and Services of Clark E. Carr, Late Honorary President of the Society.....Mr. George A. Lawrence

A Sketch of the History of Woman's Work in the Illinois State council of Defense.....Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen
Chairman, Woman's Committee Council National Defense, Illinois Division, and Member State Council of Defense.

Mrs. Bowen's address will be read by the Secretary of the Society.

12:45 o'Clock P. M.

Luncheon at the St. Nicholas Hotel.
Price Seventy-five Cents.
(Please make reservations through the Secretary of the Society as early as possible.)

SUPREME COURT ROOM.

2:30 o'Clock P. M.

The Life and Services of Joseph Duncan, Governor of Illinois, 1834-1838.....Miss Elizabeth Duncan Putnam
Davenport, Iowa.

Songs.....Mrs. Mose Salzenstein

Some Phases of Agricultural Development of Illinois Since the Civil War.....Dean Eugene Davenport
University of Illinois.

Music.

William Murray, Trader and Land Speculator in Illinois.....
.....Miss Anna Edith Marks
University of Illinois.

8:00 o'Clock P. M.

Centennial Music.....Mrs. Westenberger

Annual Address—The Scots and Their Descendants in Illinois.....
.....Mr. Thomas C. MacMillan
Chicago, Illinois.

Music.....Mr. Ridgely Hudson

Reception—In Supreme Court Building.

PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting, May 20, 1919

THE SCOTS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN ILLINOIS.

[Thomas C. MacMillan, M. A., LL. D.]

The pages of American history contain the names of men of Scottish birth and blood, whose notable achievements have reflected credit upon the land and race of their forebears; and, we may venture to add, have shed luster upon the cherished country of their adoption. In almost every decade of America's development, subsequent to Great Britain's entrance upon the scene of action, are to be found records of the enterprises here of Scotland's sons.

Full and cheerful recognition is accorded the varied and valuable contributions of other European peoples to the upbuilding of the several Commonwealths, which, nearly a century and a half ago, united to form our Nation. What is here asked for is a fair consideration of the claims of Scotsmen for the services rendered by their fellow countrymen and their descendants in this undertaking; and a just recognition of their share in the preparation for, and the creation and construction of the United States.

The Scot in America has ever been so occupied in making general and local history that he has not given much, if any, time or attention to the writing of his own history. It has come to pass that historical data concerning the Scot, in the earlier years of his advent to these shores, were not collected, and preserved, by those most interested, to such an extent as we would have desired. However, we may catch glimpses of him here and there; occasional mention; incidental reference; until, in recent times, his personality is more clearly revealed and his influence traced.

When the earlier Scots emigrated to the American Colonies, they but responded to the racial instinct of expansion, and accepted the opportunity to establish themselves as free-holders. With them religious and civil liberty had ever been a master passion. As "political prisoners" many were transported hitherward by Charles I, by Cromwell, by Charles II, and by James II. As pioneers, they became independent. As patriots, with such a heritage, they grew into leadership. As State-builders, they had some considerable share in the establishment of the new Republic. We may guess, that those who were able, were also ready, to aid their less fortunate fellow-countrymen; and did so; for, in 1657, the Scot's Charitable Society, of Boston, was established, and continued to do a service of untold help and hope to the expatriated ship-loads of Scotia's sons who were practically slaves, sent here to work for the already settled colonists.

From Bunker Hill to Port Royal, and from Manhattan to the Alleghenies, when the Revolutionary War began, there was scarcely a thriv-

ing community in all that region which did not have settlers of the Scottish race. To enumerate them would be but to repeat the name of every important district. They readily adapted themselves to pioneer conditions. Their native parish administration, with its larger shire (county) system, made it an easy matter for them to understand, to adopt, and to put into successful operation, the New England town-meeting, and the Virginia county organization.

It has well been pointed out by Scottish writers, that the early emigrants from the home-land traversed the Atlantic in two main streams. One came direct from Scotland. The other was by way of the extreme northeast Province of Ireland, called Ulster. At this point, Scotland and Ireland are separated from each other by channels which are only from twelve to twenty miles or so in width. Intercourse between the two countries has always been easy and frequent. It is not either our province or our purpose to enter into the details of how Ulster came to be peopled by Scotsmen. It is merely necessary to state that the Scots who crossed over to Ulster took with them their own language, literature, laws, religion, customs, and occupations, and maintained them there.

The Hon. Whitelaw Reid (quoted by Rev. D. MacDougall, in his admirable work, "Scots and Scots' Descendants in America") remarks: "If these Scottish and Presbyterian colonists (who went from Scotland to Ulster) must be called Irish because they had been one or two generations in the North of Ireland, then the Pilgrim Fathers, who had been one generation or more in Holland, must by the same reasoning be called Dutch, or at the very least 'English-Dutch.'"

This much is said to explain the substantial unity of the Scotch, and those whom Americans popularly designate as the "Scotch-Irish," but who more appropriately may be called "Ulster-Scots." It will require slight reflection, therefore, to suggest the oneness of these peoples, and to indicate the impossibility of separating them nationally and historically. The battles waged by these strains of Covenanters—that is, those religious and civil reformers, who believed in, and subscribed to, what was Scotland's Declaration of Independence, known as the "Solemn League and Covenant"—before, during and after those years called "the killing time," because of its martyrdoms and persecutions, had prepared them for the contests in America in which they ranged themselves in the ranks of the Colonial Patriots against what were familiar to them as royal aggressions. The blood of thousands of Scotland's devoted sons and daughters has dyed the heather of her glens and bens, as witness that they determined to continue the struggle until the dawn of the day sung in heroic verse by Robert Burns, their nation's bard:

"When man to man, the world o'er,
Will brithers be, for a' that."

As our story has to do largely with the results of the American Revolution, we may be pardoned for what may seem to be a digression. The well-informed student of our national history does not need to be reminded that four of Washington's major-generals, at the time of discharge, were Scottish: Henry Knox (Mass.); William Alexander

(N. J.); Alexander MacDougall (N. Y.; and Arthur St. Clair (Pa.). (MacDougall's "Scots and Scots' Descendants").

It is also to be noted that this race, besides its signers of the Declaration of Independence, and other patriots, gave Washington thirty-five other generals; "three out of four members of his cabinet; and three out of five Judges of the first Supreme Court;" (Herbert N. Casson in "Life and Work of Cyrus Hall McCormick," p. 20); while of the British Colonial Governors, who served before, and, under Providence, prepared the way for the Revolution, more than forty were of Scottish birth and blood.

The history of Illinois, during the period of early French occupation, would be incomplete were there no reference to, and no understanding of, the relation to it of John Law, author of the so-called "Mississippi Scheme," and its successor, the "South Sea Bubble;" who however, never visited this country.

Law was a native of the city of Edinburgh, Scotland, where he was born in 1671. If heredity is to be trusted, he came naturally by his faculty of financiering, as his father was engaged in what now would be termed "the banking business." He was given an excellent education. His abilities are said to have been good. After a varied career in London, Holland, and elsewhere, and after having made a special study of banking, he devised a plan for the establishing of a governmental financial institution, which, however, he failed to induce either Scotland or France to adopt. Meanwhile, he had amassed a large fortune. Then followed his introduction into some of the most powerful court circles of France.

For years close social and political relations had been sustained between France and Scotland. The royal house of the Stuarts had long been the beneficiaries of the Bourbon dynasty. The object of this policy, on the part of France, was to meet and curtail the increasing power of England. William of Orange, warrior and statesman though he was, never seemed to foster the northern part of his kingdom; Scotland could not easily forgive him for the dreadful "Massacre of Glencoe;" nor forget his persistent and successful opposition to the Scottish enterprise of colonizing the Isthmus of Darien, as Panama then was designated—an undertaking conceived and promoted by William Paterson, the son of a Dumfriesshire farmer, who had founded the great bank of England, and whose vision of Panama and its commercial possibilities was more than two centuries in advance of his day and generation.

In 1712, Antoine Crozat, a favorite of Louis XIV, obtained a monopoly of the commerce and trade, with the control, of the "Illinois Country." In 1717 this grant was surrendered. The spectacular and extravagant reign of Louis the Grand had brought financial confusion, if not practical bankruptcy, to France. It was then (1717) that John Law's project was launched. Law believed in the "omnipotence of government." His plan was to combine foreign and domestic finance into one all-powerful monopoly to be controlled by the Nation.

The "Company of the West" was created by Law, with himself as its governing head. To it was given the exclusive control of the trade and commerce of this region, as France then claimed dominion over

Canada and the Mississippi Valley. This grant carried with it the powers of administration, and the French Government was to receive large returns from the monopoly. The "Company of the West" had the entire trade in tobacco, and in the mines, which the region was supposed to contain; and, later was awarded a monopoly of commerce with the East Indies, China, and that indefinite something denominated "the South Sea;" hence the organization under this grant of "the East India Company."

These conditions and circumstances are cited, so that we may have an understanding of several results which affected the growth and development of the "Illinois Country."

The important effects of these were: 1. The detaching of the Mississippi Valley territory from its relation to and its dependence upon, the French authorities in Canada; and its transfer to New Orleans, which center was established in 1718. 2. The creation, in the Mississippi Valley, by the French, of nine military and civil districts, each with its own Commandant and Judge, under the supervision of the Council at New Orleans. Thus the "Illinois Country" became next in influence and importance to the New Orleans district.

This change of jurisdiction at once, and for years afterward, contributed materially to the upbuilding of the "Illinois Country." It had been too remote from the center of Canadian control; while, because of river communication, it was in direct and easy connection with the Crescent City. It led to the founding of Fort Chartres and to the strengthening of the other posts in this region. It had a direct relation to the transfer, by the conquest of General Clark, of Illinois, to the United States. It also came, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, to have a not inconsiderable indirect influence in furthering the negotiations which culminated in the "Louisiana Purchase" from France by the United States, in President Jefferson's administration; a policy of peaceful territorial expansion of which, like Alaska, we have had several examples.

The period of British rule in the "Illinois Country" extended from 1765 to 1778. During that time there were few events of historical importance with which our study has to do.

The continuous opposition of the British General Gage, to the settlement and development of the North-West Territory had decidedly deterrent effects. This policy was the reverse of that of the last royal Governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore (James Murray), a Scot, who heartily encouraged the colonization of this region. Under the latter's system, pioneers from Virginia, from the Carolinas, and from Georgia made their way to Kentucky and to Tennessee, and later removed to Illinois. The records of the epoch show that these settlers largely were of Scottish birth and descent. Among the best known of the leaders then of the border of Kentucky and Tennessee were Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, and George Rogers Clark, all of Scottish ancestry.

Regarding the Scottish settlements in the Colonies, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, MacDougall in his "Scots and Scots' Descendants in America" (Vol. 1, p. 28) says:

"There were nearly twenty communities of Scots and Ulster-Scots in New England, including Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut; from thirty to forty in New York; fifty to sixty in New Jersey; more than one hundred and thirty in Pennsylvania and Delaware; more than a hundred in Virginia, Maryland, and East Tennessee; fifty in North Carolina; about seventy in South Carolina and Georgia; in all, about five hundred settlements (exclusive of English Presbyterian congregations in New York and New Jersey) scattered throughout all the American Colonies."

These were the sources from which flowed the streams of settlers to the Northwest.

In 1758 Scottish Highland soldiers appeared in the Ohio Country, under command of Major Grant. In 1765, when France relinquished control of the territory, after the French and Indian War, Captain Stirling, with troops of the 42d Highlanders, the famous "Black Watch," proceeded from Fort Pitt, down the Ohio river, and up the Mississippi, to Fort Chartres, and took possession of that stronghold in the name of the British Crown. Captain Stirling's successors included Captain Sinclair, or St. Clair, as it is also written, both having names that suggest their ancestry, as their troops indicate their nationality.

From Kirkland's and Moses' "History of Chicago," (Vol. 1, p. 27-28) we learn the story of Colonel Arent Schuyler de Peyster, who, for several years before the Revolutionary War, commanded the British forces at Mackinac, and therefore the district of which Chicago was a part.

Colonel De Peyster was a New Yorker of ancient Dutch stock. His wife was a Scotch lady. When the peace between the United States and Great Britain was signed, in 1783, the colonel retired, and settled in Dumfries, Scotland. There in 1813, he first published a volume entitled "Miscellanies." This was edited by Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, of Yonkers, and republished in 1888.

The colonel in Dumfries commanded a regiment of militia, of which the poet Robert Burns was a member. In his "Miscellanies" are some verses—for he wrote rhyme—entitled "Speech to the Western Indians." This "poem" mentions Clark, and also Chicago, which is spelled "Eschikagou," that in a foot note, he describes as "a river and fort at the head of Lake Michigan."

It may be considered significant—and Scotch—that the warlike colonel, who was childless, bequeathed his property to his wife's people, who, General De Peyster remarks, were "MacMurdos or whatever was the name of her nephews." Perhaps this is another illustration of the influence in Illinois, and elsewhere, of the thrifty Scot!

The acquisition by the Colonies, in 1778-9, of what came to be designated as "The Northwest Territory," out of which were organized Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, is a well known story. It has furnished abundant material for historian and romancer alike.

Gen. George Rogers Clark was the central figure in the conquest of the country northwest of the Ohio River, as has been well said by Hon. W. H. English of Indiana, in his exhaustive history of that great

enterprise. He (Clark) was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, November 29, 1752. Mr. English states that the traditions of Clark's ancestry are "meager, vague, and unsatisfactory;" but he adds—without giving authorities therefor—that his paternal ancestor came from England. The same author records that this pioneer "met and fell in love with a Scotch girl who became his wife," and that she was described as "a red-haired beauty." It is a matter of history that John and Jonathan Clark, descendants of the "red-haired Scotch lady," and the forebears of Gen. George Rogers Clark, lived for some time in the parish of Drysdale, in King and Queen County, Virginia; and also that the light hair of their handsome ancestress was noticeable in the family of her descendants for several generations.

Now let us read what MacDougal says (in his "Scots and Scots' Descendants in America," Vol. 1, p. 54) concerning Gen. Clark's descent: "John Clark, great-grandfather of General George Rogers Clark (1752-1818), came to Virginia in 1630 from the southwestern part of Scotland." This is certainly distinct and unequivocal.

A word with reference to the name "Drysdale" may here not be out of place. It is still a not uncommon one in southwestern Scotland, from which, MacDougall says, General Clark's ancestors came to America. It seems scarcely necessary to direct the attention of the student of history to the origin of county, town and settlement names, as this is elsewhere noted. The name "Drysdale" is as distinctively Scottish of the Lowland, or southern, districts, as are MacDonald, MacLeod, MacPherson, and Cameron of the Highland; and, when we recall what MacDougall says (supra) regarding the "more than a hundred (Scottish communities) in Virginia, Maryland, and East Tennessee," we are not surprised to find a "Drysdale" within the bounds of these Colonies.

"George Rogers Clark," says Kirkland and Moses (in their "History of Chicago," vol. 1, p. 24), "was a typical pioneer, frontiersman, Indian fighter and American soldier. He embodied the best qualities of Daniel Boone, John Todd, Simon Kenton, William Wells, and the other hardly pioneers who made possible the New West. In brilliancy of achievement, and permanency of results, he is head and shoulders above them all. It is not too much to say that to Clark we owe it, that, at the Peace of Paris, the whole upper Mississippi Valley fell to us instead of England," meaning, of course, Great Britain, for Americans have a habit of speaking of the Island Empire as if it were composed only of the Southern part; quite as though we were to call the United States after the Empire State; while Scots affirm it was not "*Great* Britain" until the union of England with Scotland.

It is to be observed that the John Todd referred to was Col. John Todd of the Kentucky family to whom Mrs. Abraham Lincoln was related—certainly a Scottish name.

General Clark's family were people of substance and standing in Virginia. His younger brother, William, was the Captain Clark of the "Lewis and Clark Expedition," sent out by President Jefferson, in 1805, to explore, to the Pacific Coast, the recently acquired territory of "Lousi-

ana," and who made the memorable journey from St. Louis to the mouth of the Columbia River and return.

At the age of nineteen, General Clark was on the border among the adventurous spirits of his native Colony. He made several trips back and forth to Virginia in the interest of the settlers of Kentucky. By his twenty-fourth year he was a recognized leader. He had served in a campaign against the Indians, under Major Angus McDonald—observe this name—which, quaintly remarks one of his biographers, "developed him in military and political sagacity." He was one of two delegates sent from Kentucky to the Virginia Legislature, to seek aid for the settlers against the Indians, in which he was successful. Then came the conception of the plan to make conquest of the North-West.

Judge John Moses (in "Illinois: Historical and Statistical," vol 1, pp. 145 et seq.), relates how the prominent men of Virginia, during the second year of the Revolutionary War, had their attention directed to the "Illinois Country," then British territory.

Before entering upon his enterprise General Clark deemed it necessary to learn directly the conditions at Kaskaskia, and the adjacent settlements in Illinois, and their attitude toward the Americans, were a descent upon them to be made by Colonial troops. Judge Moses adds: "To confirm his views he (General Clark) sent, in 1777, to Kaskaskia, two trusty spies, one of whom was James Moore, afterwards a distinguished settler." His vision revealed to him that the way to meet and master the threatened overrunning of Kentucky by the British, and their Indian allies, was not merely to prepare for a defense of the American settlements, but also to assume the offensive.

Mr. N. Matson (in his "Pioneers of Illinois") tells this story of the other spy. He relates that "John Duff, a Virginian of *French descent,*" visited Illinois in 1777, and upon his return east reported to General Clark what he had seen and heard; how the French inhabitants of the "Illinois Country," who comprised by far the largest part of the population here, were dissatisfied with the British, and were ready to change their allegiance to the Americans. Thereupon General Clark and John Duff laid the situation before the Governor, Patrick Henry, of Virginia, who authorized General Clark to recruit troops for an expedition to conquer the territory, although the ostensible object was to protect the frontier; and Governor Henry furnished the means and equipment to prosecute the enterprise.

Where and how Mr. Matson learned that John Duff was of *"French descent"* does not appear. Let it be borne in mind that General Clark and John Duff must have been intimate, else he (Clark) never would have entrusted so important a mission to Moore and Duff. The name "Duff" is not at all "French," but decidedly Scottish. The Duffs and the MacDuffs of Virginia were directly descended from Scottish families. Then, too, we recall the Scottish settlement of "Drysdale," as well as General Clark's Scottish descended associate, Simon Kenton, and many other members of this expeditionary force who were, as their names show clearly, Caledonian by ancestry, if not by birth. Later Duff and Kenton both were given lands in "Clark's Grant" in Indiana,

for their services during his campaigns. Mr. English speaks of Kenton as standing "with Daniel Boone in the front rank of Western pioneers."

Patrick Henry (1736-99), the Governor of his native Virginia, who made possible the expedition of General Clark to the Northwest, was the son of a Scottish father and mother. His father was John Henry, and his grandmother was a kinswoman of Principal Robertson, the Scottish historian, and of the mother of Lord Brougham, the British (Scottish-born) statesman.

L. E. Jones, in "Decisive Dates in Illinois History" (p. 96), writes that Governor Henry "was a relative of George Rogers Clark," which confirms the statement regarding the latter's Scottish extraction.

The years immediately following the passage by the United States Congress of that remarkable and historic instrument, known as the "Ordinance of 1787," by which the North-West Territory was created, were troublous ones, both for officials and for people. Political construction, or reconstruction, is always attended by difficulties and dangers, even under the most favorable circumstances.

It was no small task to organize, and no light labor to institute, the administrative agencies provided by the Congress in the act of organization. Its initial operation would have tested the wisdom, patience, and skill of the ablest statesman of the time.

The territory affected was vast. The settlements were small, and were scattered from the Ohio River to the Great Lakes, and from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. Within these bounds roamed powerful tribes of hostile Indians, led by able and warlike chiefs, whom it took Gen. William Henry Harrison long to subdue, and then only after several hard-fought battles. The seat of government—Marietta, Ohio—was remote from Kaskaskia, and the adjacent communities in Illinois; and was not accessible save by circuitous river routes, or by hazardous journeys overland.

Many of the members of General Clark's command, after the conquest, had remained in or had returned to the North-West Territory, and had "taken up" land here. The rivers afforded favorite settlement centers and sites.

The first Governor of the North-West Territory was Major-General Arthur St. Clair. "His career reads like a tale of fiction, so varied, so romantic, and, ultimately, so tragic" was it. When the Revolutionary War closed, he was one of the four Major-Generals under Washington who were of Scottish birth.

General St. Clair was a native of Thurso, Scotland, where he was born in 1734. Educated for the medical profession in the University of Edinburgh, he forsook the healing art to enter the British army. Coming to the Colonies, he served successively under General Amherst in the Louisburg campaign, and with General Wolfe at Quebec. In 1764 he settled and married in Pennsylvania. When the Colonies began their struggles, he promptly cast in his lot with them, and became a patriot leader. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War he was awarded a Colonelcy. In 1776 he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General.

In 1778 he was made a Major-General, which he retained until he became the head of the army.

In 1787 General St. Clair was chosen President of the United States Congress. When that body created the North-West Territory, he was appointed its first governor. In 1790 he visited Illinois, and organized this entire territory into one county, which he named after himself. This and others of his acts gave rise to adverse comment.

It is not our purpose to recount, or even to give a resume of, his official course while he was chief executive of this Territory. The historians agree that, in this capacity, his administration was open to criticism. It may be explained, in partial extenuation, that, from the first, there were serious differences between the executive and the judicial branches of the territorial government, which one, by taste and training a soldier, could not easily adjust. Besides, the internal affairs were much disordered when he came, matters which his successors took a long time to settle.

A kindly estimate of General St. Clair is quoted from Judge Moses' "History" (Vol. 1, p. 212):

"He was brave in battle and faithful to his friends. He advanced large sums from his private means to sustain the Government in the darkest hour of the Revolution, as well as to defray the current expenses of the territorial government, which were never repaid him. His fortune, once a large one for the times in which he lived, had been mainly spent in the service of his Country, and he found himself in his old age reduced from affluence to poverty, until at the age of eighty-four years" (in 1818, that in which Illinois became a State) "he closed his days in a log cabin in Pennsylvania, a striking illustration of the proverbial 'ingratitude of republics.'"

Following a period of what consists somewhat of tradition the real history of Chicago begins with John Kinzie. It is to be observed that Mr. Kinzie came to what grew to be Chicago the same year in which Captain John Whistler arrived to undertake the building of Old Fort Dearborn. Here again our Army, as in many other instances, was a pioneer of civilization; for the Fort made this a seat of authority and commerce, to which the tribes and traders came.

John Kinzie was the only son of his father, whose name was John McKenzie, a Scotchman. Like many other members of his race, he had made his way across the Atlantic, and at the time of his son's birth, in 1763, the family lived in Quebec. That city then was the center of Canadian commerce with the posts and settlements of the entire St. Lawrence basin. There the hardy trapper, traveler, and fur-trader outfitted, and to it and from it went their expeditions. This was the atmosphere in which John McKinzie began his life. His father died when the son was an infant. The widow, some time afterward, married William Forsyth, a Scotchman of devout Presbyterian stock. Several children were born of this union, whose names appear in early Detroit and Chicago annals.

John Kinzie dropped the "Mc" from his name, and that of Kinzie was adopted, and has remained the family name ever since. Why this discontinuance of the "Mc" came about, we may only conjecture. It

may have been because of the popular prejudice to anything savoring of British origin or relationship, as the feeling of the Americans then, and for a long time thereafter, was pronounced against Great Britain. But this has never since existed among Americans regarding Scotchmen.

Mrs. John H. Kinzie, the interesting and informing author of "Wau-Bun," who was John Kinzie's accomplished daughter-in-law, says that he was "of an enterprising and adventurous disposition," as well he might be with such a progenitor, and with such surroundings as were in Quebec and Detroit. When the Forsyths lived in Detroit, Mrs. Kinzie states, John Kinzie "entered the Indian trade, and had establishments at Sandusky and Maumee, and afterward pushed further west about the year 1800, to St. Joseph" (Michigan). But the lure was still westward, and he came to Illinois in 1803 to look the ground over with a view to settlement. In 1804 he brought here his wife and son, John H. Kinzie.

As to why he chose Chicago, instead of remaining in the St. Joseph river region, we may reasonably make inferences. It has already been intimated that his coming to Chicago was nearly that of the arrival of Captain Whistler who built Old Fort Dearborn. Captain Whistler also came from Detroit. It is not unlikely that Mr. Kinzie was aware of the work to be undertaken by Captain Whistler for the War Department. He certainly perceived the strategic position of the new military post. It was on the lake; a stream was here; the portage from Lake Michigan to the inland river and country was made at or near this point; here several affiliated tribes made their headquarters; and from here the redmen of Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin could be brought into trading relations. The Indians who hunted and fished in what are now Southwestern Michigan and Northern Indiana were within easy reach of the new fort, and with these he had already established friendly relations.

At Chicago, the military post then was everything. There were only a few log-houses outside of it. The fort afforded some society and conveniences which an isolated Indian post lacked. Mr. Kinzie may have had a dream of a future center, for it would surprise none to learn how often the pioneers were also prophets. His active mind and enterprising spirit again readily expressed themselves. Soon he had established stations for trade among the tribes on the Illinois, and on the Kankakee, and among the Menominee Indians in Wisconsin.

We may obtain a picture of the life of an Indian trader from Mrs. John H. Kinzie, who wrote:

"Each trading post had its superintendent and its complement of *engages,* its train of pack-horses, and its equipment of boats and canoes. From most of the stations the 'furs and peltries' were brought to Chicago on pack-horses, and the goods necessary for the trader were transported in return by the same method. The vessels came in the Spring and fall (seldom more than two or three annually) to bring the supplies and goods for the trade, and took the furs already collected to Mackinac, the depot of the Southwest and American Fur Companies. At other seasons they were sent to that place in boats, coasting around the lakes."

Mr. Kinzie possessed qualities which secured for him the friendship of many of the chiefs of the tribes inhabiting this region. In periods

of peril, as during the year 1812, that of the "Fort Dearborn Massacre," this friendship stood him in good stead. He could speak their language. Indeed, there is a tradition that he prepared some books of an educational nature of the Winnebagoes, as well as of the Wyandots or Hurons.

After the troubles of 1812, covering an interval of three or four years, he returned to Chicago and resumed his activities. Fort Dearborn had meanwhile been rebuilt, this time on a larger scale. It was for years alternately abandoned and occupied on account of the Indian troubles, its final evacuation taking place in 1836. Mr. Kinzie died January 6, 1828. His descendants became honored and prominent citizens of Chicago. A leading street, a public school, and a land addition of Chicago bear his name; and, as has been said, historians call him "the Father of Chicago," as he was its first permanent civilian white settler.

From the days of Father Marquette, the heralds of the Cross had large part in the opening up of the North-West. Their devotion was proverbial. No tribe was too hostile to deter them from attempting its conversion. No journey was too dangerous to keep them from the prosecution of their self-sacrificing task. As explorers, they not only accompanied as spiritual advisers Joliet and La Salle, but also often themselves were far in advance of these adventurous men.

When the Territory had passed beyond the era of trapper and trader, and became the home of the permanent white settler; the Missionaries of the Gospel ministered to the people in the distant and isolated communities.

One of these splendid men was John Clark. Of him, Dr. Peter Ross (in his work on "The Scot in America," pp. 160-1), says:

"Turn to a lay preacher who did magnificent work for the Master in his day and generation, and around whose name many fragrant memories yet linger. This was John Clark, better known as "Father Clark," whose only educational training was that which he received in the school of his native parish of Petty, near Inverness (Scotland). He was born in 1738, and in early life is said to have been a sailor. In the course of one voyage he landed in America, and concluded to associate his future with it. He settled for a time in South Carolina, where he taught a backwoods log-school, and then moved to Georgia, where he joined the Methodist Church, and became a "class-leader." In 1789 he became an itinerant preacher in connection with the Methodist body. He was a man of devout spirit, outspoken in his views, and ready to denounce wrong wherever he found it, without regard to church affiliation, general policy, or self-interest." As might be expected, he was a bitter foe to slavery, and it is on record that he twice refused to accept his annual salary of $60 because the money was obtained through slave labor."

"Father Clark" made his way to Illinois. Here he taught school, and preached when opportunity arose. He quitted the Methodist Church, and joined an anti-slavery organization, known as the "Baptized Church of Christ, Friends of Humanity," and labored as a traveling evangelist. It is stated of him (Judge Moses' "History," vol. I, p. 235),

that he was the first Protestant minister to cross the Mississippi, and to preach to the Americans there in 1798. He died in St. Louis in 1833.

One of the great preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in modern times was the late Bishop Robert McIntyre. His career was remarkable. By birth and ancestry Scottish, he worked as a brick-mason until he reached man's estate. When the call to preach came, he was laboring with the trowel. It involved a mighty soul struggle. Once over and settled, he threw himself into the work with a zeal that knew no obstacles. It was as if the fires of his spirit had been lighted at the divine altars. Here was a field for his imaginative spirit to soar in. He became minister, preacher, evangelist, orator. In spiritual fervor, opulence of reference, aptness and abundance of illustration, finish of expression, and force of utterance, he was a marvel in pulpit or on platform. Few if any of the preachers of the denomination—always noted for its preachers—could be classed with him. The older people who heard him were reminded of that other great Methodist Episcopal preacher, Bishop Simpson, also a Scot. Before he was chosen a bishop Dr. McIntyre was for years pastor of an influential and large church in Chicago-St. James: M. E.—which has contributed four bishops to the denomination, and has had many other strong preachers in its pastorate.

Bishop Wm. E. McLaren, of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Chicago, was the son of a Scotch descended Presbyterian minister who was well known and highly esteemed in his denomination. The bishop was rector of a large church in Cleveland when he elected and confirmed as bishop in succession to Bishop Whitehouse, who was a scholar and administrator of eminence in his time. The career of Bishop McLaren in Illinois was marked for its uniform success, the admirable spirit which he manifested, and for the growth of the church throughout his jurisdiction.

John Laurie was a Scotchman who came to Illinois in the first third of the nineteenth century. He settled on a farm in Morgan County. He had several sons, three of whom were educated in whole or in part in Illinois College, Jacksonville, and all three became ministers. Thomas the oldest, was born in what the Scots delight to call "the Athens of the North"—the city of Edinburgh. He was scarcely ten years of age when he came with his family to the United States. Graduating from college in 1838, he resolved to devote himself to religious service in foreign lands. The field to which he was assigned was inhabited by that interesting people, the Nestorians, among whom he labored until his health compelled him to relinquish what he had hoped would be a life-work. Upon his return to the United States, and the restoration of some degree of strength, he preached, and wrote: one of his books was entitled, "Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians" which passed through several editions. Inglis, the second son, held pastorates in Minnesota. James completed his literary course at Williams College, and went to Andover for his theological training, becoming a minister of prominence in his day. There were other sons who were farmers, respected and useful citizens in their community.

President Charles M. Stuart, of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, the Methodist Episcopal Theological Seminary (whose career is indicated elsewhere), is one of the Scottish leaders of his denomination whose services in behalf of education and ministerial training are widely known and appreciated.

Of "well-kenned" (well-known) Scottish ministers there have been many, and of "leal-hearted" ones not a few, who have occupied the pulpits of Illinois. As preachers, they were counted theologically sound, but not by any means only "sound." To give even a limited list of them would be as difficult as to condense into a paragraph Dr. McCosh's two volumes on "Realistic Philosophy," or to summarize the "Shorter Catechism" into a sentence. Some of them used until the last the "Doric," as the Scots' language—for it is a distinct language—is affectionately designated by the natives of the land of the heather. But the majority adapted themselves readily to the speech of their new country, with perhaps just a gentle flavor of their own to make it attractive.

Rev. Wm. Horace Day, D. D., son of the late Rev. Dr. Warren Day, formerly of Ottawa, Illinois, is Moderator (1919) of the National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States. He is the grandson on his maternal side of a Scot; "Dr. Day is now minister of the leading Congregational Church in Bridgeport, Conn. Another man of Scots' birth and lineage, who was Moderator of that body (1907-1910), is a resident of Cook County, Illinois, and was Moderator of the Illinois State Congregational Association in 1899-1900, and has been a State Senator. His home is in LaGrange, Illinois.

Rev. John M. Farris, some fifty odd years ago, was one of the best known and highly esteemed ministers of the Old School Presbyterian Church in all this territory. He served with success and satisfaction as financial representative of the then North-Western Presbyterian (now the McCormick) Theological Seminary. He was an Ulster-Scot, the worthy son of stalwart ancestry. His home in the later period of his life was at Anna, Union County, where he devoted himself to horticulture. His son, Rev. Wm. W. Farris, a graduate of the old Chicago University and of the North-Western Presbyterian Theological Seminary, became a useful minister, and an author, as well as a frequent contributor to the periodical press of his time.

Rev. George C. Lorimer, D. D., for a number of years, was one of the most eloquent and engaging pulpit orators of Chicago. A Scot, he was an adopted American, whose loyalty and learning made him a power for civic betterment and moral uplift throughout his extended pastorate of one of the leading and most influential Baptist Churches in the Garden City. As a lecturer he was sought from far and near. As a preacher he is remembered with Dr. O. H. Tiffany, Bishop Charles H. Fowler, Bishop Robert McIntyre, Dr. W. H. Ryder, Dr. Herrick Johnson, Dr. Robert Collyer, Prof. David Swing, Dr. Robert W. Patterson, Dr. R. M. Hatfield, Dr. H. W. Thomas, Dr. J. P. Gulliver, Dr. Brooke Herford, Bishop Chas. E. Cheney, Dr. E. P. Goodwin, Dr. Clinton Locke, Dr. F. A. Noble, and others who in their time were outstanding leaders in their several churches.

Among the settlers who came to southern Illinois during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, no group furnished more sturdy, independent, successful, religious, law-abiding citizens that did the Reformed Presbyterians. The name by which they were popularly known was "Covenanters." They were, to a man, woman, and child, Scotch and Ulster-Scotch.

The Covenanter was a product of the despotism of the House of Stuart upon a people who had an over-mastering zeal for civil and religious liberty. This conviction followed the Covenanter in his migration overseas. It made him the foe of slavery, and the apostle of freedom. When the attempt was made in Governor Coles' administration, to have slavery formally recognized by law and established in Illinois, the Covenanters, who had made their homes in Randolph County, at once ranged themselves among the anti-slavery people, and by voice and vote did their full share in deciding, once for all, to make, and to keep, Illinois a free State.

In their public worship, these intelligent, earnest, courageous, useful, liberty-loving citizens used in their praise service the "Psalms in Meter," and the "Paraphrases," that is, Bible themes set forth in verse. In their public worship they stood while prayers were offered, and they sat while they sung. They eschewed instrumental music in their public worship and would allow no "kist of whistles" to lead their singing. They believed in a national as well as a personal conscience, in the existence and consequences of national as well as personal repentance, and in personal supplications.

Some sixty years ago, or so, there were in Cook County two Reformed Presbyterian Congregations. Though relatively small, it is remarkable how productive they were in developing denominational leadership. Indeed, this fact is to be noted in connection with the little churches throughout this State. Church leaders almost as a rule have come out of the small or rural, not the large or city churches.

Out of the church of the Covenanters in Chicago, and that—an Old School Presbyterian Church—into which it grew, came a group who were leaders in religious, benevolent, and educational fields. Its minister was an Ulster-Scot. Rev. Robert Patterson, D. D., not to be taken for Rev. Robert W. Patterson, D. D., who for many years was minister of the Second Presbyterian Church of Chicago, and who was reared in Bond County, Illinois, and was educated at Illinois College, Jacksonville. Three of the young men may be named who were products of this Covenanter and Old School Church—John C. Hill became a missionary to Guatemala, after which he returned to the United States, and preached in Illinois; for some time he has been in a leading church in Ohio. John Currer and Alexander Patterson, sons of the ministers, have long since finished their work here. Mr. Currer came from a Dumfermline, Scotland, family; preached in Hebron, Illinois, in Girard, Kan., and in LeSuer, Minn., Mr. Patterson devoted himself first to evangelistic service, then became a denominational educator, and the author of several bible-text books. Miss Lillian Horton, who was a member of the later—the Old School—church, went to Korea as a missionary. It is worthy of note that in this church also, in his earlier life, was the late

Thomas Templeton of Evanston, who for years was prominently connected with the Marshall Field Company, and who left provisions in his will for the disposition of about a million of dollars for denominational and charitable purposes. The late James Crighton, for a third of a century a member of the Chicago Board of Trade, another young man of this church, for more than twenty-five years was superintendent of one of the most important city missions of the Presbyterian denomination. This little church had in its membership a number of well-known and successful teachers. One member became an editor and a State Senator, and, as elsewhere intimated, Moderator of the National Congregational Council (1907-1910).

The other church was in the town of Bloom, Cook County, whose minister was Rev. Mr. Phillips. In this church was reared the late State Senator William J. Campbell, of Chicago and Riverside, who, during the administration of Governor John M. Hamilton, was President of the State Senate, and thus was Lieutenant-Governor; was prominent lawyer; and was a member of the National Committee from Illinois of his party.

The interesting group of people whom we know as Covenanters may not be passed without the recital of an incident illustrative of the manner in which they expressed their convictions. It is published in a pamphlet issued in 1918, by the "Sunday School Times Company," in which is a discourse by Rev. Paul Rader, pastor of the Moody Church, Chicago, entitled, "How Lincoln Led the Nation to Its Knees." Mr. Rader said:

"Thank God for the little group of men in Ohio who could see God's ways well enough to meet for deliberation and prayer, and for the company in Sparta, Illinois, who adopted this pledge: 'To labor to bring the Nation to repentance toward God, and to a faithful administration of the Government according to the principles of the Word of God.'"

Under the provisions of, and by request of the United States Senate, expressed in resolutions introduced by Senator James Harlan, of Iowa, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, dated March 30, 1863, setting apart April 30, 1863, "as a day of National humiliation, fasting, and prayer," and requesting "all the people to abstain on that day from their ordinary secular pursuits, and to unite at their several places of public worship and their respective homes, in keeping this day holy to the Lord and devoted to the humble discharge of the religious duties proper to that solemn occasion."

These were "the darkest days" of the Civil War. Mr. Rader adds: "The day of prayer came April 30. In a little more than two months the sky was flooded with decisive victory. By the morning of the 5th of July, Lee was on his way in retreat to the Potomac with one-quarter of his whole army gone, and seventeen miles of wagons with the wounded. Vicksburg had fallen, and there was the victory of Gettysburg."

This is the interpretation given the gloom and the succeeding light of 1863. In his proclamation, fixing August 6 as a day of Thanksgiving, President Lincoln said: "It has pleased Almighty God to hearken to the supplications and prayers of an afflicted people, and to vouchsafe to the Army and Navy of the United States victories on land and sea so

signal and effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that the Union of these states will be maintained, their Constitution preserved, and their peace and prosperity permanently restored."

Rev. W. J. Smiley, of Sparta, states of Rev. Samuel Wylie that he planted the Reformed Presbyterian Church there. Mr. Wylie was an Ulster-Scot, having been born in Antrim, February 19, 1790. Concerning the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Mr. Smiley remarks: "Her influence for liberty has been felt, and her testimony against slavery, lifted up at the close of the last" century, (since 1800 no slave-holder was retained in her communion), has been vindicated."

With the "Covenanters" here, sixty years ago, the "Communion Season" was the important semi-annual event. It was observed in the spring and autumn. Usually the resident minister was assisted in this sacrament by one other clergyman. The preparation was serious and thorough. The minister and elders, who comprised the "session," carefully examined all applicants for membership. Those who came for the first time were well-versed in the Bible and the "Shorter Catechism." So far as recalled, there was no "Lachlan Campbell," of "Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush" fame, to be grand inquisitor of the young and timorous. The week preceding the "Lord's Supper Sabbath"—for it was never known by the pagan name of "Sunday"—was devoted to special preparatory services. In some parishes there was a "fast day," and it was a real "fast." Each intending communicant was given a "token," which entitled its holder to a seat at the Communion-table; for a table occupied the space between the front row of pews and the pulpit. It was covered with a spotless table-cloth. The communicants moved down from their pews by the right-hand aisle, with slow and solemn step. The "precentor" led in the singing of a Psalm in meter, to some impressive tune familiar to all. At the end of the aisle two elders stood, and to them each communicant handed the "token." The officiating minister occupied a seat in the center of the table facing the congregation. When the seats were filled, the minister began the service with prayer; then a short discourse; after which the "elements" were distributed. When all were partaken of, the "precentor" resumed the singing, the communicants arose, slowly moved out of their places by the left-hand circle, while another group or company came down the right-hand aisle, and took the vacated seats. These exercises made the service a lengthened one, for it was the only worship in the church that Sabbath-day.

On such days there were no "hot dinners" in the family. Indeed, all Sabbath preparations were always completed on Saturday night. "Thou shalt cut neither horn nor hair on the Sabbath-day" was faithfully observed. All bathing, changing of linen, polishing of shoes, and making ready for Sabbath meals as far as possible, were completed the evening before. Hence, on Sabbath morning, the Sabbath garb was assumed without hurry, and the worshipper did not need to rush into church on Sabbath morning "as a warrior hasting to the battle-field."

The Bible was carried to church. In the back part of it were the "Psalms in meter" and the "Paraphrases." When the minister read the

"Scripture lesson," each member turned to the chapter, and carefully followed the reading. There was a running exposition of the passage. Where some difficult verse appeared, it was critically explained, and the meanings of the original Hebrew or Greek given. The sermon was rarely less than from a hour to an hour and a quarter in length. It was preached without manuscript, or even "notes." It abounded in analyses; the historical setting was given; there were from three to five main "heads" each with as many subdivisions; it was delivered with clearness and fervor; throughout it was scholarly; closing with a recapitulation, and the powerful application. It contained sufficient material to keep the congregation busy until the next "diet of preaching."

The records of the first schools in Illinois are fragmentary. The county histories, for the most part make only incidental mention of the early teachers. They are composed of accounts of the methods of forming "subscription schools," as they were called: that is, where petitions and subscription papers were circulated by persons who desired to "take up" or to "keep schools;" with descriptions of the crude quarters in which the schools were held; and with certain picturesque features which prevailed.

That was before the establishing of free public schools. The compilers of the local annals of long ago emphasize the popular phrase that "lickin and larnin" then invariably went together. They relate interesting tales of the "loud schools," or, as they used to call them in Kentucky, the "blab schools;" that is, where the pupils studied their lessons aloud, —a type which long preceded the "silent schools" of our day. Several of these histories contain references to schools which were "kept" by men who had served with Gen. George Rogers Clark during his conquest of Illinois.

One of the pioneer teachers was Rev. John Clark (see the section on Religion" for his sketch), a Scotchman, who, about 1805-6, labored with much usefulness in this behalf among the settlers.

The venerable author, the late Dr. Samuel Willard, in his "Brief History of Early Education in Illinois" (published by State Superintendent Henry Raab in the fifteenth biennial report, 1884, pp. XCVIII-CXX), states that Randolph County, the home of many of the Scotch Covenanters, followed close upon Monroe County in establishing schools, in 1805-6 and in 1817. He adds, that, in 1821, a school was taught near Sparta, a center of these Scots. In St. Clair County, in 1811, a school was opened at Shiloh, and the Scotch settlement.

It was not however, until 1824, or six years after the admission of Illinois into the Union, that any definite action was taken by the State for the creation and maintenance of free public schools. This measure was introduced into the General Assembly by State Senator Joseph Duncan who later served three terms in the United States Congress, and was elected Governor of Illinois.

Governor Duncan was born on February 22, 1774, in Paris, Ky. His father was Major Joseph Duncan, a native of Virginia of Scotch ancestry. The home of the Duncans was Kirkcudbright, in southwestern Scotland. His daughter, the late Mrs. E. P. (Julia Duncan) Kirby, of Jacksonville, preserved among her family treasures a picture

of Kirkcudbright, which the writer has often seen, and of which that lady frequently spoke with pride, as showing the nativity of her father's ancestry.

The Duncan Act of 1824 was for the establishment and support of free common schools in Illinois. It became a law. However, it was far in advance of its time, and was subsequently repealed. It "led in 1854-55, to the passage of a bill prepared by Ninian W. Edwards, for the system of common schools which we now have, and the provisions of which are similar to those of the law adopted in 1824 of which Senator Duncan was the author" (Mrs. Kirby's "Sketch," p. 34).

Although his measure had been nullified, Governor Duncan did not cease to advocate the advisability and necessity of popular education. In his inaugural address as Governor he devoted a large part to a "discussion of the benefits to be derived from the establishment of a system of public schools, which he strongly recommended" (Judge Moses, "History," vol. 1, p. 402).

For many years the Governor was a trustee of Illinois College, Jacksonville, founded in 1829. To its support he was always a liberal contributor; a deep interest which his daughter and her husband (Judge and Mrs. E. P. Kirby) maintained to the end.

Among the pioneer-educators of Cook County the name of Stephen Forbes holds an honored place. He was of Scottish ancestry. Assisted by his wife, who was a true help-mate, he opened a school in Chicago in June, 1830, near Michigan Avenue and Randolph Street, not quite two squares south of Old Fort Dearborn. He was engaged by Colonel Beaubien and Lieut. David Hunter, who was of Scotch descent, and who was afterwards a general in the U. S. Army. Mr. Forbes' school had some twenty-five pupils, children of families connected with the Fort and of civilians residing near by.

Hon. William H. Wells, who sixty years ago was superintendent of Chicago's public schools, and who was a competent authority on the subject, wrote a history of early education in Chicago. Of Mr. Forbes' school, Mr. Wells said: "This, no doubt, deserves to be recognized as the first school in Chicago above the rank of a family school."

Scots claim a share in the honor of the services accomplished for popular and higher education by the dean of Illinois schoolmen, Dr. Newton Bateman. His ancestry is traced by his biographer, Paul Selby, both to English and Scotch sources. Educated at Illinois College, he was successively teacher, principal, county superintendent, and professor. In 1858 he was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction, a position which literally he filled for fourteen years, the longest term that office was ever held by any one. Later, Dr. Bateman was President of Knox College, Galesburg (1875-1893), and then became President-Emeritus. His activities included the editorship of educational journals. He was one of three to found the National Bureau of Education. Of his seven biennial reports as State Superintendent, it may be recalled that, in whole or in part, they have been republished in five different languages in Europe, and that his volume of "Common School Decisions," issued originally by order of the Legislature, is "recognized by the courts, and is still regarded as authority on the subject" (Paul Selby,

in "Illinois, Historical and Statistical"). It was during Dr. Bateman's State Superintendency that our public school establishment as it exists, was really established and developed along the lines marked out by State Senator Duncan. Dr. Bateman's State reports are classics. They contain a wealth of information, a source of inspiration, and a breadth of view never surpassed, if ever equalled, as official publications in the Mississippi Valley, or elsewhere, since the time of Horace Mann.

The old Chicago University was for years one of the cherished institutions of the city. In its beginnings it was called the Douglas University. In 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, who was of Scotch descent, donated a tract of land, along Cottage Grove Avenue, at Thirty-third street, for an institution of learning. A provision was attached to the gift, that $100,000 be raised to erect buildings thereon. On July 4, 1857, the corner-stone of the main building was laid. This was the year of the disastrous financial panic, which seriously crippled many of its friends. Senator Douglas, in view of the conditions, extended the time in which to secure the necessary building funds, and subsequently deeded the land to the university without reserve. The institution had many vicissitudes, between the panic and the Civil War, and at last had to succumb. The idea, however, never failed, for a few years after its close was born the present University of Chicago. The alumni of the old university include not a few distinguished men.

A Presbyterian of Ulster-Scot ancestry was engaged, some threescore years ago, in extending his already large manufacturing business throughout the Middle West. He was a man whose principle was that "there was religion in his business and business in his religion." He was deeply impressed by "the rough immorality of the new settlement." These places, he conceived, needed more and better-trained ministers. It came to him as a real "call" that he should do something to help this want. He sprung from a family and race of earnest, intelligent, God-fearing people, and to see a spiritual or moral need, was to find and to provide means to meet it. This was the ideal which Cyrus Hall McCormick entertained when, in 1859, he offered $100,000—then considered a princely sum—to establish a Presbyterian Theological Seminary, in the city where he had made his money and his home. It was at first called the North-Western Presbyterian Theological Seminary. Such were Mr. McCormick's large gifts to and interest in it, that later it was named in his honor. The life of Mr. McCormick is a history of industry, genius, vision, public spirit, devotion, and generosity—an example which his widow and children have fully maintained in their continued and large contributions to educational, religious, and philanthropic objects.

Blackburn University, at Carlinville, was named after Rev. Dr. Gideon Blackburn, a minister of the then New School Presbyterian denomination. Born in Virginia, August 27, 1772, his father was Robert Blackburn, and his mother was a member of a well-known family named Richie. Both parents were Ulster-Scots, and devout Presybterians. At the age of twenty-one he was licensed to preach. Beside becoming a minister, all his life he was deeply interested in education, especially

in the higher branches. In the decade from 1830 to 1840, Illinois made great advances in the building of churches, schools, and colleges. During that period Dr. Blackburn was the financial agent of Illinois College at Jacksonville. In 1837, he conceived the idea for an institution of learning, which, in 1857, was formally incorporated, and for a time had courses of study especially adapted to young men preparing for the ministry. The curriculum later was extended so as to include preparatory and collegiate departments. It was another instance of "one sowing and another reaping," for Dr. Blackburn died in 1838; as well as an illustration of that other saying of a good man's works following him. Not only in the institution was this true. Two of his sons became ministers, and a third would have been had he lived. Of Dr. Blackburn, it has been said that of "all the men who ever lived and labored for the benefit of Macoupin County, he stands in the foreground;" also, that "he was a man among men, and a man of God." His influence has been widely felt for four-fifths of a century, and will continue while Blackburn University lives and bears his name.

Monmouth College, at Monmouth, Warren County, is the product of pioneer Scotch Presbyterians. Its founders were two ministers of vision and devotion. They were Rev. J. C. Porter, pastor of Cedar Creek, and Rev. Robert Ross, pastor of South Henderson. In 1852, they conceived the plan of founding an educational institution for higher scholarship on the rich prairies of Western Illinois. In this enterprise, they had, as might be expected, the hearty indorsement and support of their denomination of stalwart United Presbyterians. In 1853, it was opened as an academy, and two years later steps were taken to raise it to the rank of a college. In 1857, it was granted a charter. The year before Rev. David A. Wallace, D. D., LL. D., had been elected its President. Dr. Wallace had faithfully ministered to Scottish churches in New England, and was one of the clergymen who were prominent in combining several bodies which took the name of United Presbyterian. For twenty-two years he was its executive head. His successor was Rev. J. B. McMichael, D. D., who was president for nineteen years. These two able educators were respectively founder and builder. The endowment was increased under the presidency of Rev. S. R. Lyons, D. D. The present President, Rev. R. H. McMichael, D. D., is the worthy son of the former executive, and for more than sixteen years has with unvarying success conducted its affairs. The college has eighteen hundred in its alumni; many others have received their training there; forty-five per cent of its young men have entered the ministry; a fifth of the ministers of the United Presbyterian denomination are Monmouth College men; over fifty have gone into foreign missionary work; and others have entered the learned professions in forty-three of the forty-eight states, and five hundred of its youth have been with the Colors in the recent European conflict; while two hundred-fifty of its young men went into the Civil War. In the list of graduates are: Maj. R. W. McClaughry, the noted penologist; and John M. Glenn, the able secretary of the Illinois Manufacturer's Association, Chicago.

McKendree College, at Lebanon, is one of the group of colleges begun in the early "30's." The others were Illinois College at Jack-

sonville, and Shurtleff College at Upper Alton. That was an era of great intellectual activity in southwestern Illinois. Many new settlers had come and were arriving from the East. In the latter "30's" financial clouds had begun to darken the State's horizon. However, school, college, and church building progressed rapidly. Among the institutions founded during the decade from 1830 to 1840, was McKendree College, which at first was named McKendreean College, The Methodists, as is their custom, were energetic and thoroughly alive to the needs of the situation. Of the leader for whom McKendree College was named, Bishop E. E. Hoss thus writes in his biography of Bishop William McKendree:

"If anything at all has been preserved concerning his (Bishop McKendree's progenitors, it has wholly escaped my search. The family name, however, shows that they were of Scotch origin, though, as was the case with thousands of others of the same blood, they probably reached America by way of the north of Ireland. The transplanted Scotchmen are a masterful race."

The Armour Institute, of Chicago, ranks high in the educational world. As has been aptly expressed, "Mr. Armour's idea in manual training was, that all shall be taught and done so that muscles shall not be more thoroughly trained than the moral character, and the perception of truth and beauty." The Institute has always had a close relation on the one side to the public school and on the other side to the university. Its founder was the late Philip Danforth Armour. His birthplace was Stockbridge, Madison County, N. Y., where he was born May 16, 1832. His father was descended from James Armour. That part of Scotland where the Armours have lived for generations is Argyllshire. The chief city is Campbelltown, named after the powerful and noted Duke of Argyll's family. The channel which here separates Argyllshire from Ulster is only twelve miles wide. The intercourse between the two countries for centuries has been easy and constant, as elsewhere indicated in this paper. Mr. Armour's Ulster-Scottish ancestor came to America during the middle of the eighteenth century, and settled in New England; and his descendents removed to New York in 1825. Mr. Armour was one of the most widely known of Chicago's great business men. He was a patron of art. His interest in higher practical education was deep and abiding. He was one of the most generous supporters of the Scottish organization known as the Illinois Saint Andrew Society. It was entirely through his benefactions that the Institute which bears his name was founded and endowed. His plans for the large ideals of the Institute have been well carried out by his son, J. Ogden Armour.

Every one who was a student in or acquainted with the University of Illinois during the first two score years of its history will remember Prof. Thomas J. Burrell. As of Virgil's hero, it may be said of Professor Burrell that he himself was a great part of its achievements. He was the sympathetic adviser of the undergraduate, and to the end remained the friend of the alumni. Scots and their brethren, the Ulster-Scots, claim him, for his ancestry was in part of that blood. Born in the Bay State, he came with his family to Stephenson County, Illinois,

where his father was a farmer. In former times the head of the University was called the Regent. When a vacancy came in this office, the Trustee's urged him to accept it, but he was fully satisfied to continue a member of the faculty, although he was defacto President until the election of Dr. Draper. Educated in the State Normal, at Normal, during the "60's", he had the good fortune, soon after graduation, to receive an appointment as botanist in one of the expeditions of Maj. J. W. Powell, the noted geologist and anthropologist, whose explorations of the Colorado River and Canon form a thrilling chapter of Western history. Upon the organization of the University of Illinois, he was elected to a professorship, and was the first librarian of that institution. He closed his long and honorable career as a man loved and esteemed by all who had the privilege of knowing him.

Prof. David Kinley is one of the leading educators of the present generation. He occupies a position of distinction in the University of Illinois. His birthplace was Dundee, Scotland, where he was born August 2, 1861. In 1872 he came to the United States; was educated at Yale; pursued post-graduate studies at Johns Hopkins; and for a time taught in several well-known institutions. He has specialized in economics, and served on a number of international industrial and financial commissions. He is the author of several standard works, and has been a frequent contributor to the leading periodicals. His services as a University Dean led to his selection (1919) as acting-President of the University of Illinois during the year's absence on leave of Dr. James. Professor Kinley is a loyal American whose affection for the homeland has made him a much-sought after speaker at Saint Andrew Society and other Scotch anniversaries.

When Chicago was nothing more than a straggling, struggling village, something like three-quarters of a century ago, Lyons Township had become a well-known settlement among the communities of Cook County. Its nearest corner to Chicago was a dozen miles to the southwest. So important had it grown, that in 1836 there assembled within its borders delegates to the first political convention ever held in the county. This meeting took place on the Vial farm, south of the present suburb of Western Springs. The meeting-place was a log house on the farm now owned by the venerable Robert Vial, who has lived on the identical spot for eighty-five years.

Opposite the Lyonsville Congregational Church, on the Joliet road, was built in the early "40's" the first public school-house in the Township. It was of logs. One of those who helped to "raise" it was the late Samuel Vial, an older brother of Robert, then a young man. Its first teacher was Miss Margaret McNaughton, a Scotch lass, who came to America with her parents from Aberdeen. She became the wife of Samuel Vial, who died a nonagenarian, in October, 1911. One of their sons, the late George McNaughton Vial, became the Moderator of the Illinois State Congregational Conference, and was for many years a leader in the National Councils of the denomination. Joseph Vial, the other son, has been Township Treasurer for nineteen years.

In Chicago, Scots and the sons of Scots have contributed their part to the public school establishment of the city. This has been acknowledged by the Board of Education in the naming of at least twenty-seven of its largest grammar schools after distinguished Scots and descendents of Scotsmen. The services for popular education of Daniel R. Cameron, John McLaren, Graeme Stewart, and John J. Badenoch can scarcely be properly estimated by this generation. Mr. McLaren was for many years a trustee of the Lewis Institute, one of Chicago's educational establishments.

To these annals should be added the names of Prof. Hugh McDonald Scott and Prof. Wm. Douglas Mackenzie. Both were Scotch, and both were members of the faculty of the Chicago Congregational Theological Seminary, at Union Park; both were preachers, teachers, and authors; and both were leaders in their denomination in their city, State, and Nation. Professor Scott was killed in a street-car accident; and Professor Mackenzie went from Chicago to become President of Hartford Theological Seminary, Connecticut, which office he still holds.

Another Scot, whom his countrymen delight to honor, is President Charles M. Stuart, of the Methodist Episcopal Theological Seminary at Evanston, known as Garrett Biblical Institute. President Stuart is a native of Glasgow; educated in its noted High School; graduated in 1880 at Kalamazoo College, and later at Garrett Biblical Institute; was assistant editor of the "Northwestern Christian Advocate" from 1888 to 1896, and its editor from 1908 to 1912; was Professor of Homiletics in Garrett Biblical Institute from 1896 to 1908; and has been its President since 1912; a record of educational and editorial service deserving of a large recognition in these chronicles.

The long, successful and satisfactory labors of President Thomas McClelland, late of Knox College, Galesburg, deserve an honored place in the college annals of Illinois. He is one of the sons of the sturdy Ulster-Scots, who have planted the church and the school side by side.

In Perry County, in early day, among the teachers mentioned are Francis Thompson McMillan and Martha McMillan. In Randolph County, at the Plum Creek settlement, we find among the Presbyterians who came from South Carolina those who had the "energetic traits which have marked the race in all parts of the United States." It is related that that staunch Covenanter, Rev. Samuel Wylie, "frequently had private students," probably preparing for the ministry. Adam Wylie, a brother, taught in 1833-5 at Sparta. It is related by S. B. Hood, that "in the summer of 1822 G. T. Ewing, afterwards a Covenanting minister, taught school in Section 9, east of Eden."

In the records of the early schools in McDonough County are to be found the names of Scots who did good service in building up education throughout the "Military Tract." And this is duplicated in many other counties and districts.

The story of the early publications of Illinois is that of change in ownership, editorship, places of issue, policies, and affiliations. The small and scattered settlements of pioneer days, and the scarcity of money, were not conducive to their sustained and substantial support.

The news of the separated communities found among its most efficient disseminators the traveling preachers or circuit-riders, and the itinerant peddlers. These, with their more or less novel narratives and unusual tales, were welcome visitors in the log-cabin and the wayside tavern.

In those times the habit, now practically universal, of subscribing for, and of reading, the local paper had not been acquired. Touching authorship, as at present understood, there was little if any in Illinois, unless we except the well written and useful works of Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, of the English colony of Edwards County.

The excellent sketch of Governor Joseph Duncan ("Fergus' Historical Series," No. 29), by his daughter, the late Mrs. Julia Duncan Kirby, of Jacksonville, contains the following:

"Capt. Matthew Duncan" (Governor Duncan's brother) was educated at Yale College, and after completing his education, and returning to his native state "(Kentucky)," he for a time edited a paper in Russellville, Ky., called "The Mirror." On removing to Illinois, in 1814, he edited and published at Kaskaskia "The Illinois Herald," the first newspaper published in Illinois. In December, 1814, he published the first book or pamphlet that was published in the State. In June, 1815, he published the first volume of what was known as "Pope's Digest." In 1817, Matthew Duncan sold his paper to Daniel P. Cook and Robert Blackwell. He abandoned journalism and entered the army. He resigned after four years of service, and engaged in business in Shelbyville, Illinois, where he died January 16, 1844, only a few hours after Governor Duncan, neither knowing of the illness of the other. "For the Scotch ancestry of Matthew, see the sketch of Governor Duncan given elsewhere in this paper.

Other historians state that Matthew Duncan "brought a press and a primitive printer's outfit from the state" (Kentucky). Hooper Warren, who was the founder of the third paper established in Illinois, affirms that Duncan's press "was for years only used for public printing." The oldest issue of "The Illinois Herald" known to be in existence is Vol. I, No. 30, and bears date December 13, 1814. It was a three-column paper. When Cook and Blackwell acquired it, they changed it to "The Intelligencer," and increased it to four columns. In 1820, it followed the State Capitol from Kaskaskia to Vandalia.

Robert Goudy (writes Hon. Ensley Moore), of Jacksonville, Illinois, in "Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society," 1907, pp. 315-23), was presumably born in the neighborhood of Armagh, County Tyrone, which is in the province of Ulster, in the north of Ireland, November 2, 1785. The Goudies were, and are to be found in Ayrshire, next to Wigtownshire and Argyllshire, Scotland, the nearest to that part of Ireland where the Protestant population is largest and where lived the Ulster-Scots. The Scotch poet Robert Burns had a friend, "John Goudie, the terror of the Whigs," to whom he addressed some characteristic verses. In the migrations of those who bore the name, it was variously written Goudie, Goudy, Gowdie and Gowdy. Mr. Goudy married Miss Jane Ansley, who was of Scotch descent. The Scottish spelling of the name was and is Ainslie. Like many others, it too was changed, as it were, in transportation finally to Ensley. Mr. Goudy

early learned the art of printing. The family lived for a time in Indiana, and in June, 1832, came to Illinois, settling in 1833 in Jacksonville. It is believed that he, like Duncan, brought with him his printing plant. In 1834 he published "The News" in Jacksonville. The same year was issued from the Goudy press "Peck's Gazetteer of Illinois," a book, now rare, that became an authority, and, aside from official publications, probably the first book printed and bound in Illinois. Then began the publication of "Goudy's Farmer's Almanac," which contained much varied and valuable information. Mr. and Mrs. Goudy had nine children, all of whom were to become noted in their respective homes and walks of life."

Hon. Calvin Goudy, M. D., was their second child. When Jacksonville became their home, he attended Illinois College, and had among his associates, War-Governor Richard Yates, and Rev. Robert W. Patterson, D. D., long the pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Chicago, whose sons, Robert W., and Raymond were prominent newspaper men, the first the editor, the other the Washington correspondent, of the "Chicago Tribune." In conjunction with a brother, probably Ensley T., in 1837, Calvin published the "Common School Advocate," the first journal of its class in the west. He studied medicine, and practiced his profession in Taylorville, Christian County. In 1850 he was elected to the Legislature, and, as indicated elsewhere, took an active part in educational advancement. He died March 8, 1877. His services in promoting education and periodical literature were many and useful. Of his distinguished brother, Hon. W. C. Goudy, mention is made in that section of this paper entitled "Bench and Bar."

The growth of the newspaper business in Illinois from 1830 to 1900 has been marvelous. During the first half of this seventy-year period it is impossible now to trace the antecedents of their founders, owners, and editors in the State at large.

As Chicago developed, there were long connected with its press numbers of Scots whose writings in their specialties made them noted. A few may be mentioned.

James Ballantyne, during the Civil War decade, was an authority on financial and commercial matters. His department on the old "Republican" was a standard.

James Chisholm, before and after the Great Fire of 1871, was a dramatic critic of local fame. His articles in the "Inter Ocean" were universally read by the theatrical world. The weekly review which he prepared and published under the whimsical pseudonym of "John Barleycorn" were inimitable, "pawky;" delightful for their wit, with a flavor and expression that reminded one of Charles Lamb.

E. N. Lamont, writer for the same paper, was a man of rare attainments, retiring, with a fine, graceful style, an essayist whose counterpart is George P. Upton, so long one of the charming contributors to the columns of the "Tribune." Lamont's book-reviews were unexcelled for discrimination and taste. He had no superior as a literary Scot in the Garden City.

At one time on the writing-staff of the "Inter Ocean" alone there were no fewer than five Scots and descendants of Scots. Indeed in that

journalistic group Virgil's well-known line was playfully paraphrased to the "cultivating of literature on a little oat-meal."

In the circle of the religious press of that period was Rev. E. Erskine, who edited the "North-Western Presbyterian" an influential publication of the denomination: genial, alert, capable, a preacher who was also an excellent editor.

Cyrus Hall McCormick, once owner of the "Times," before Wilbur F. Storey's advent, founded and maintained the brilliant "Interior," whose editor, Dr. Wm. C. Gray, in his day was next to Dr. J. A. Adams, of the Congregational "Advance," the best paragrapher on the American religious press.

Dr. Charles M. Stuart, long associate editor, then editor, of Methodist Episcopal "North-Western Christian Advocate," published in Chicago, was a journalist who ranked with Erskine, Gray, and Adams.

Gen. Daniel Cameron, who always retained the "burr" of the "r" in the heather-r-r, was a virile editorial writer, who a half century ago was a political, as well as a journalistic power in northern Illinois. His brother, A. C. Cameron, was long a prominent local publisher of newspapers.

In these latter days the Scots in Illinois and throughout the North-West take great pleasure in recalling the useful and esteemed George Sutherland, of the "Western British American;" courteous, courageous, quiet, pure, he was beloved of all.

In a county history of 1883, appears the following: "D. F. McMillan began the publication of the 'Randolph County Record' at Sparta, May 28, 1844." It is said he went there from Kaskaskia in 1842, and removed to Chester in 1846. He was one of the few of the name in Illinois who were newspaper men.

The history of Illinois could not well be written were the names of Robert Fergus and his son, George Harris Fergus, omitted. In 1839, Robert Fergus issued the first directory of Chicago, and other similar works in subsequent years as late as that of 1857, including reprints of the same after the Great Fire of 1871. His son, George, was his close companion and cordial coadjutor from the early "60's." Robert Fergus also printed the first decisions of the Illinois Supreme Court, known as "Scammon's Reports."

Father and son published "The Fergus Historical Series" which embrace some forty volumes and pamphlets bearing on early Chicago, Illinois, and the North-West. Today "The Fergus Historical Series" comprise collectively the most authoritative history of pioneer days in Chicago and the State. The complete "Illinois: Historical and Statistical," by the late Judge John Moses, is a work in two volumes of over 1,300 pages, and was published through the sole enterprise of George Fergus.

Both Robert and George Harris Fergus, all their active and useful lives, were deeply interested in civic betterment. Although neither of them ever held public office, both—Robert from 1839 to 1860 and George from 1860 to 1911—were upbuilding and influential factors in city, State, and National affairs, and were always on the side of good government.

Robert Fergus was born in Glasgow, Scotland, August 4, 1815. His father was John and his mother was Margaret Patterson (Aitken) Fergus. He was educated in the schools of his native city, and at the age of fourteen years entered the University Printing Office at Villafield. In those early days he "worked at the case" on Sir Walter Scott's "Marmion," "The Lady of the Lake," and "The Lay of the Last Minstrel." He also took part in "setting up" Sturm's "Reflections" and Meadow's French, Italian and Spanish dictionaries. His training in the "art preservative," and in publishing was practical and thorough, and laid the foundation for his future career in Chicago, where he arrived one month prior to his twenty-fourth birthday, and where he lived for sixty years. His wife's maiden name was Margaret Whitehead Scott, who, too, was a native of Glasgow, and was the daughter of James Scott, a merchant weaver and a burgess and freeman of the city. Mr. Fergus founded in Chicago the printing and publishing house that bore his name, and he continued actively in that business until his decease.

George Harris Fergus, their eldest son, was born in Chicago, September 1, 1840. He was educated in the public schools of the city, and became a partner of his father, and continued the business until his death, November 24, 1911.

During the late "50's" George became a member of the famous company known as "Ellsworth's Zouaves." When the first call for troops was issued by President Lincoln, he was appointed First Lieutenant of Company K, 11th New York Infantry, under Colonel Ellsworth. This command was mustered into service at Washington, D. C., May 7, 1861, and was the first regiment sworn in for the Civil War. Colonel Ellsworth, in the fall of 1860, entered the office of Mr. Lincoln at Springfield to study law, and accompanied the President-elect to Washington on the way to his inauguration. Lieutenant Fergus served with his regiment in May, 1861, when it was detailed to guard President Lincoln at the White House. He was present when Colonel Ellsworth, while attempting to haul down a Confederate flag, in Alexandria, Va., was shot, May 24, 1861. Mr. Fergus was married to Mary Electa Stocking on November 24, 1867. Mrs. Fergus is an honored resident of Chicago (April, 1919).

The characteristics of father and son are revealed in all their work. Both gave their lifetime to historical research and investigation, and their publications bear witness of their almost faultless accuracy. Robert Fergus was thoroughly Scottish, and George was as thoroughly American in spirit. They had much in common. Both were intense in thought and action. Robert was a great reader of the best literature. George was an esteemed companion to many famous men. George was direct, forcible, retiring, but always responsive, and ever master of himself. Both were true to their respective traditions—Scottish and American. In their useful careers, they exemplified the ancient motto of the Clan Fergus—"Ready, Aye Ready."

In Northern Illinois, just before the Civil War, the abolitionists were unusually active. They were open in their advocacy of unconditional freedom for the Slaves, and they were daring in their efforts to

aid fugitives. The "agents" and "stations" of the "Underground Railroad" had greatly increased in numbers and efficiency in all this section.

La Salle County had become important as a district where the "lines" from the South converged, to be continued from there to Chicago. In Ottawa, particularly, there was an aggressive anti-slavery society. In 1838-9 there had been organized in that place three churches, the Congregational, Baptist, and Methodist, whose members were ardent in the anti-slavery cause.

No braver or bolder man in all this region was there than John Hossack. He was a stalwart Scotchman, who was born in Caledonia in 1806. Love of liberty has always been a notable trait of his country men.

From an interesting paper, by Rev. John H. Ryan, of Kankakee, entitled "A Chapter from the History of the Underground Railroad in Illinois," published in the "Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society," (April, 1915, vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 23-30), the following, largely, has been gathered:

John Hossack had settled in Ottawa about 1849. It is related of him that the first fugitive, slave whom he helped to freedom was sent to him by the fearless and fertile Rev. Ichabod Codding, a Congregational minister and anti-slavery lecturer, who had traveled much. At that time, John Hossack was evidently a man of recognized force.

The incident, in connection with which his name has come down to our time, involved a fugitive slave named Jim Gray, or "Nigger Jim," as slavery's supporters called him. "Jim" had escaped from his master, one Richard Phillips, and had made his way from Missouri to Union County, Illinois. There he was captured and put in prison. A Mr. Root interested himself in the fugitive, and sued out a writ of habeas corpus in the State Supreme Court. The case was taken before Judge J. D. Caton, who sat at Ottawa, then one of the grand divisions of this jurisdiction.

John Hossack had been notified that the slave and his captors were to arrive in Ottawa at a certain time. He was at the station to meet them. The party who had "Jim" in charge consisted of Phillips, his son, a constable, and "three kidnappers, Jones, Curtley, and McKinney."

The "kidnapping" of negroes had long been practiced in the southern counties of the State. Two or three men were usually associated together for this business. One would establish himself at St. Louis, or at one of the other border towns, and work up a reputation as a seller of slaves. The others would move about the Illinois counties on the lookout for negroes—slaves or free. The "kidnappers" never stopped to inquire whether a colored person was free or not. The question simply was, could he be carried off in safety? The slave-hunters seized their victims secretly, or enticed them to accompany them under false pretences, placed them in a wagon, and drove as rapidly as possible to the borders of the State" (Prof. N. Dwight Harris' "History of Negro Servitude in Illinois," pp. 54-5). Then they were sold down South."

When John Hossack met the Phillips party, "Jim," says Rev. Mr. Ryan, "had a trace-chain fastened to his legs, his arms pinioned and a

rope around his neck, and down between his legs—the end held by a white man, the negro walking in front." This was too much for John Hossack. He demanded of Jim's guard to know of what crime the negro had been guilty that he should be thus treated. The answer given was so unsatisfactory that Hossack exclaimed: "No man can be taken through the streets of Ottawa thus humiliated—not while John Hossack lives!" This fearless, public protest led to some abatement of "Jim's" treatment.

This exhibition of slavery's inhumanity caused intense excitement in the community. In deference to public sentiment, the Phillips party took their prisoner to a hotel instead of putting him in jail that night. In the evening church bells rang, meetings were held, plans were made for the hearing before Judge Caton the next day, and attorneys were retained to defend the fugitive.

On the hearing, and after evidence was submitted and the arguments were presented, Judge Caton discharged "Jim" from custody.

Now came the crisis. There had been some understanding that this would be done. When, therefore, the United States Marshal was removing his prisoner, the crowd gathered around captors and captive. Those most instrumental in separating "Jim" and the Marshal were John Hossack and Dr. Stout and Dr. Hopkins, and some dozen or fifteen others. A carriage was in waiting close by. Mr. Campbell (his name certainly sounds Scotch) had charge of the team. The rescuers quickly put "Jim" in the carriage, and away they went. The fugitive was conveyed to a place of safety a few miles from the present city of Streator, where he remained concealed until he was taken by friends to Chicago. There he was received by Philo Carpenter, and later sent to Canada and freedom.

John Hossack, with Dr. Joseph and James Stout, and ten or fifteen others were indicted by a United States grand jury for their participation in the rescue from the Marshal of a prisoner. They were tried in Chicago in the United States District Court, and convicted. John Hossack was defended by Messrs. Isaac N. Arnold, Burton C. Cook, and E. C. Larned, all able and distinguished lawyers, and all personal friends of Mr. Lincoln.

In his own defense, when asked what he had to say why sentence should not be pronounced, Hossack made an address of which Rev. Mr. Ryan says: "It will become memorable as later generations appreciate the heroism of our National crisis." Hossack was sentenced to serve ten days in jail, and to pay a fine and costs amounting to $591.

It was a dearly won victory for the pro-slavery people. "Jim" had escaped, literally Scot-free, Hossack's courageous course, his manly bearing during the trial, and his stirring speech in court, were as fuel to a conflagration that spread through, and lighted up, all of the northern part of the State. His prison became a Mecca to which crowds flocked. The newspapers reported every incident in connection with it in detail.

Many who had hitherto been indifferent on the subject of slavery were now won over to the side of the oppressed black man. His friends were greatly encouraged by the change in public sentiment. Indeed,

probably no single act, in 1859-60, in northern Illinois had more influence in advancing the cause of the anti-slavery people; nor did more to create a local atmosphere for the National Convention which met in Chicago and nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency.

At that time Hon. John Wentworth was Mayor of the city. He also owned and managed a newspaper published in Chicago. In its columns the following was one of his clarion utterances regarding the penalty visited on the sturdy Scot, John Hossack, for his acts in behalf of Jim Gray:

"Scotchmen, patriot's and citizens, visit John Hossack! Remember our friends of freedom as bound with him!" Then he added: "Let their fines and costs be paid!"

And the public response was general and generous. The slave-hunter's trade in Illinois was dead. John Hossack and his brave associates had killed it.

In 1848 there died in Chicago a Scot, whose varied adventures read like a romantic tale of Robert Louis Stevenson or Mayne Reid. His name occurs frequently in "Astoria," that interesting book of Washington Irving, himself the son of a native of the Orkney Islands. If the reader would learn of the hazards and harvests of the fur-trade of the North-West of a century ago, let him peruse the delightful pages of Irving's "Astoria."

Robert Stuart was born at Callander, Scotland, which is familiar to every American tourist who has taken the charming trip through the district made famous by Sir Walter Scott in "The Lady of the Lake." The story of the life of Stuart (related by Dr. Peter Ross, in his "The Scot in America," pp. 59-63), is that Robert was a grandson of Alexander Stuart, who, as "Allan Breck" would say, had "a King's name." Alexander was the bitter enemy of that notorious cateran, Rob Roy.

Robert came to America when about twenty-one years old. As a fur-trader in Canada he had seen life; on the coast of Labrador he had been a fisherman; with the voyageurs he had made various expeditions into the interior. The first John Jacob Astor found in him a trusted partner and fearless pioneer in his almost empire-visioned enterprises in the Far North-West.

In 1819, Stuart quitted Oregon, struck the trail for the East, and found his way to Mackinac Island. The summer visitor to this well-known place in "The Straits" will remember the old "Astor House." Still to be seen there are some of the hewn-log structures of a century ago, in which the furs brought in by hunters and traders were sorted and stored, preparatory to shipping them to the sea-board. There, too, may be inspected the interesting records of Ramsay Crooke, the Scotch factor, who was in charge of the post. Stuart continued his work on the Island as a fur-trader. His knowledge of, and influence with, the Indians led to his appointment by the Government as Commissioner to the tribes of the region. In 1834 he removed to Detroit, and was chosen Treasurer of the State of Michigan. The tribes with whom he had been associated sincerely respected and trusted him, as he was a man whom by long experience they had come to know as their friend; whose

promises to them had never been broken; a reputation by no means universal of those to whom the Government has entrusted its Indian administration.

His son David, a leading lawyer, and a Congressman from Michigan, came to Chicago, as attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad; volunteered in 1861; became Colonel of the Fifty-fifth Illinois Infantry; commanded a brigade in General Sherman's army; was wounded at Shiloh, and served brilliantly at Corinth and elsewhere. He was a gallant and talented officer, and exhibited in his life and services the loyalty of his father to the United States.

Of the one hundred and two counties in Illinois at least twenty-five bear the names of men of either Scottish birth or blood. As may be inferred, these names are of those distinguished in the military and civil service of the United States, during and since the Revolutionary War. They began with St. Clair, the first county organized, and extend to next to the last, Douglas County, created in 1857.

In upwards of sixty counties, from Alexander, on the extreme south, to Jo Daviess and Lake, on the north line, there are more than a hundred cities, towns, villages, and communities which have distinctively Scottish names.

Of the original of the names of Elgin and Dundee, in Kane County, there need be no question. In Scotland, however, the "g" in Elgin is given the "hard sound" and in the United States it is given the "soft sound."

In regard to the naming of Dundee, a local historian relates the following:

"Early in 1837, all were convinced, from what was going on at the crossing of the Fox River, that a town would soon grow up at that point. The people began to discuss a name for it. A meeting was called to consider the question. Nearly every one had some favorite that would recall some locality back at the old home. Finally a young Scotchman named Alexander Gardiner rose, and in his rich Scotch dialect proposed the name 'Dundee' after his native town. The name was unanimously adopted."

Wheatland Township, Will County, had, in 1843-4, several additions to its settlers, who, with their descendants, have exercised a determining influence in its development. Among them were William and John McMicken, who came direct from Scotland. It is recorded that in 1844 Stephen Fridley founded the "Scotch settlement" there. In the same year Robert Clow arrived, also Mungo Patterson. In 1847 the Scotch Church was organized, and its house of worship, a mile north of Tamarack post office, was erected a few years later. Robert Clow lived until 1880, when at the age of 83 he passed on; a useful widely known and respected citizen, whose descendants have been identified with the best interests of the community, and have contributed their full share to its up-building.

An interesting custom was transplanted to this "Scotch settlement" some forty-five years ago, and found firm root there. It is the annual "plowing match" which has come to be the most popular agricultural

function in the County, and for years has exceeded in attendance any of the old-time County fairs which once were quite an institution. This "plowing match" anniversary owes its creation and continuance to the late James Patterson, whose birthplace was in the southwestern part of Scotland, celebrated for its plowmen. While yet a young man, Mr. Patterson, who had thoroughly learned farming in his native province, came to Will County, bought land, and became one of the widely known, respected, and successful farmers in a district famous for masters in that profession. He also brought with him an enthusiastic zeal for the best customs of his Scottish forbears' land. One of these was the celebration, with the aid of capable workmen and under farming conditions, of the Ayrshire, Wigtownshire, and Kirkcudbrightshire—indeed of all agricultural Scotland—customs of yearly "plowing matches." These took place in the autumn, when the crops were harvested, and the fields were ready for "fall-plowing." Their objects were, to cultivate thoroughness in soil-preparedness and treatment, speed and skill in turning the furrows, and general interest and efficiency in all kinds of field-work. Prizes were awarded the successful plowmen. The competition was keen. The day set apart for the trials was an event. Then horses were employed before this day of the tractor. The teams were selected with care. The place where the work was done took on the appearance of a popular fair. The farming-implement manufacturers and dealers were there in evidence with their out-puts. This was the custom which Mr. Patterson introduced, and until the end of his life maintained with success at the "Scotch Settlement." The last one which the writer attended (1917) was held in the district, and it was reported that there were lined-up around the fields upwards of 1,200 automobiles, and about ten thousand spectators. The visitors represented practically every County in Northern Illinois, and considerable delegations were in attendance from the adjoining States of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Indiana.

In McDonough County, the heart of the Military Tract, the Scot early found a hospitable abiding place, and was rewarded by having a township named after his native land, Scotland.

Among the early events of public importance in the County is recorded the work of Charles Hume, son of a Scot, who taught the first school in Hire Township; he became County Judge, and was a gallant soldier in the Civil War. William McMillan was a State Senator from the district in 1844-8. William Cowan, of Tennessee Township, a prominent citizen, was of Scotch parentage. In Scotland Township, were James Clark, John and Alexander Watson, and the Barclays—John, James, Andrew and Robert—and Andrew Binnie, whose names tell their ancestry. In Prairie Township were Hugh Robertson, and J. M. and C. W. Hamilton. In Industry Township was James Allison. In Chalmers Township (Scotch) was Wm. M. Reid. In Bushnell Township, David Robinson taught the first school, and Martha Campbell was the first teacher in New Salem Township. In Macomb, James M. Campbell was long a leading citizen, and also Lewis W. Ross, William Job, and John and James Vance, and others of Scot and Ulster-Scot lineage.

No man was better known throughout that section, a third of a century ago, than the genial Alexander McLean. A native of Glasgow, he and his brother John were long active in public affairs. He (Alexander) was appointed in the first term of Governor Cullom a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, and served on that body, it is believed, longer than any other man. Mr. McLean was the son of Hector and Catherine McMillan McLean, and came to the United States in 1849. He was a Presidential elector in 1876. There was another brother, Duncan, who became a judge in Idaho.

Adam Douglas, John McMillan, Andrew McCandless father of the well-known family, all were of Scotch blood, and reflected credit on their ancestry.

In Madison County we find such familiar names as that of David Gillespie, and his sons, Mathew and Joseph, who were Scotch, although of Ulster birth. The father came to Illinois in 1818, and delighted to trace his ancestry to the Clan Campbell of Argyllshire. Samuel McAlilly was also of Scotch descent, and settled during the same period in Madison County.

In early days Winnebago County's settlers often were the victims of the depredations of organized bands of outlaws, who stole, intimidated, and sometimes murdered, the peaceful pioneers. At last the conditions became so serious, because of the boldness and badness of these bandits, that the settlers formed companies who were called "Regulators," to put a stop to the operations of the high-handed thieves. John Campbell, a Scotchman, a devout Presbyterian, and an esteemed citizen, was chosen to be the leader of the law-abiding people. In one of their enterprises, the outlaws killed Mr. Campbell. A desperado named Driscoll was held to be the murderer, and he was promptly executed for the crime. The summary punishment thus dealt out to one of their chief men rid the country of these ruffians.

Among the well-known early settlers of Winnebago County, were Scots who were prominent in private and public affairs. No attempt is here made to give anything like a list of them. Those mentioned may be taken as illustrations of how the Scot has made his way. These are named with the year of their arrival in the country! Thomas D. Roberston, 1838; Duncan Ferguson, 1839; D. H. Ferguson, 1839; Daniel Dow, 1841, and G. Tulloch, 1841. Mr. Robertson was an influential banker of Rockford. Duncan Ferguson was educated at the University of Glasgow, and was a leading citizen and official, D. H. Ferguson, who was an infant when he came, served (1866-1870), as Collector of Internal Revenue for the district, and was a banker.

The town of Caledonia, numerically not large, and commercially not considerable, is one of the most prosperous and best known in Boone County. The locality was settled in 1838; and, when the county was organized two years later, it began to show marked growth. The officials who had the matter in hand gave it its name upon the presentation of a petition which set forth that it had been chosen by the residents of the locality. Like its successful and not distant kith and kin, Argyle, its leading residents in the beginning were from Argyllshire, Scotland. John Greenlee, whose sons became prominent and prosperous business

men in Belvidere, was from the parish of Southend. The native Scot understands that the village of Southend is just east of the Mull of Cantire, and in sight of the famed ruin of Dunaverty, which stands like a sentinel on the shore. Alexander McNair and James Montgomery were of Argyllshire birth, and John and A. D. Ralston bore names of an influential family in Scotland, one of whose members became distinguished in California history.

To give in detail, within the limits of this paper anything like a complete account of the various "Scotch Settlements," in Illinois and their early residents, would be an impossible task. However, enough has been intimated to suggest somewhat of their members, locations, and the characters and lives of those who established them. It may be said, without fear of successful contradiction, that in no community has the Scot settled in Illinois where he has not left an impress that did not make for its betterment in every particular.

Northeast of Rockford, in Winnebago County, and near the western border of Boone County, is the "Scotch settlement," Argyle. It is the home of the Willow Creek Presbyterian Church. From the history of this congregation, prepared and read by D. G. Harvey, at the semi-centennial, held June 6-7, 1895, are taken many interesting annals, as well as valuable data that are published in the pamphlet containing the details of that celebration.

James Armour, of Ottawa, took up a claim of prairie and timber land, afterwards, known as "Scotch Grove," on Willow Creek. This claim came to be owned by George and John Armour, and then by George Picken, Wm. Ralston, and Robert Armour. In 1836, John Greenlee, "the pioneer and founder of the Argyle Settlement," located on the line between Winnebago and Boone Counties, and in 1837 he brought his family "to their new home, being the first Scotch family to locate in this part of Winnebago County." Others soon followed. We find among them, the names of Hugh Reid (1838); George Picken, Robert Howie, Andrew Giffen, and Alexander McDonald (1839); Wm. Ferguson, James Picken, John Andrew, Alexander Reid, Robert Armour, (1840); Gavin and David Ralston, Wm. Harvey, John McEachran, and John Picken (1841); David Smith, James Montgomery, Peter Caldwell, James and Alexander Reid, and Mr. McNair (1842); and in 1843, the families of Peter and Alex. Ralston, Charles Picken, and Lionel Henderson; thirty families who located there before the church was organized. There were fifty-one charter members, who represented seventeen groups of different names.

The Dukes of Argyll (written here Argyle) were and are chiefs of the distinguished Clan Campbell. The histories tell of the most of them as men of high character and excellent reputation. Some of their land-agents—"factors" they are called over there—were not so favorably known. In the decade between 1830 and 1840 some of these "factors" treated the tenant-farmers of the then Duke with great harshness. These measures became so severe that an exodus of many of the farmers to Illinois followed.

The large settlement in Winnebago County in which they made their homes they named Argyle after the shire in the home-land.

In the early years, religious meetings were held in the homes of the people, for the settlers did not fail to "assemble themselves together for prayer, praise and reading of the Scriptures." In 1842, a log-house was erected, which was used for day-school, Sunday School, and public worship. Frontier fraternity prevailed. The people were ministered to, when possible, by Baptist and Methodist clergymen. In 1843, an effort was made to organize a church, but it was not until December, 1844, that this was done. In January, 1845, the church decided to unite with the Old School Presbyterian body. The church was staunch in doctrine, and pronounced in its anti-slavery convictions.

In those olden days the congregational singing was led by a "precentor," as in Scotland. The "elders" were ordained and installed according to time-honored Scottish custom. Those who held positions in the church as trustees, treasurer, and clerk, were styled "office-bearers."

There was a "manse," as the Scotch call a parsonage. When a minister was engaged to preach for a time, but not as a settled pastor, he was known as a "supply." The custom prevailed of having "candidates," if there was a vacancy in the pulpit. If a janitor of the church were needed, "bids" for the place were received by the trustees. Calls to the pastorate were "prosecuted before Presbytery;" that is, submitted, and Presbyterial action followed. When a minister resigned, the "pastoral relation was dissolved." These things are familiar to Presbyterians, and are merely mentioned here for the information of those not members of that body.

The ministers of Willow Creek Church included Rev. James Maclaughlan, well known two score of years ago in Chicago as the pastor of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, and at the time of his decease, some two years ago, one of the oldest members of Chicago Presbytery, and minister of the Brighton Park Presbyterian Church.

A number of the ministers became prominent in the denomination. The church in this respect has a remarkable record.

Among the young men who grew up in this church, was Rev. John A. Montgomery. He was a son of Elder James Montgomery and his wife Jane Caldwell Montgomery. Mr. Montgomery was born in Argyllshire, Scotland, December 18, 1839, and came to the United States with his parents when a child. He was educated in the Marengo Academy, in Wheaton College, and in the Chicago Congregational Theological Seminary, at Union Park. He graduated with the highest honors from college and academy. The late venerable President Franklin W. Fisk of the latter institution, was ever a warm personal friend of Mr. Montgomery, and expressed his deep appreciation of him to the effect that "you (Mr. Montgomery), have been a constant joy to me all the years since you went from the Seminary." Mr. Montgomery served in the active ministry for twenty-five years, in three Congregational Churches —Dwight, Morris and LaGrange. In his pastorates, he drew about him, men like Dr. Keeley, Edward Kemeys, the sculptor of the lions in front of the Art Institute, Chicago; Gen. P. C. Hayes, Member of Congress; Justice Orrin N. Carter, of the State Supreme Court; F. D. Cossit, the Founder of LaGrange; George M. Vial, Moderator of the Illinois Con-

gregational Conference; and Rev. J. C. Armstrong, D. D., of the well-known Armstrong family of La Salle County, and for more than a third of a century Superintendent of the Congregational City Missionary Society of Chicago. Mr. Montgomery was always a close student, an indefatigable worker, and was held in high esteem by his ministerial brethren. He was an honored official of the State Congregational Association, and was a delegate from Illinois to the First National Council of Congregational Churches, in 1871.

The Argyle Church history shows that three other young men of the parish became ministers, namely: John Giffen, Matthew Howie, and James A. Harvey. This is another instance of the country church being the "mother of ministers." All of them discharged faithfully their duties as preachers and teachers, "rightly dividing the word."

It may here be recorded that some of these independent former Argyllshire farmers at times seriously considered the advisability of sending back to the hard-hearted "factors" of the Duke a testimonial which should fittingly express their deep appreciation of the exactions that had caused them to leave their ancestral farm-steadings. They felt that but for the severities imposed upon them by the "factors" they would probably never have come to America, and never have achieved the prosperity and peace which had fallen to their lot in their adopted country. Here they came to own their own farms. In their native land they would always have been tenants. So they often talked of showing the despotic "factors" what a blessing their course had been, although it was never thus intended; and they would have rejoiced to show their gratitude in some way to the "factor bodies" whose vigors had made them in one way exiles, but in another way, had led to plenty. And yet, it has been remarked by some who do not know the true nature of the Scot, that he has no sense of humor.

The name Cantire is also written Kintyre. It's headland—the Mull, as it is called—is the last prominent landmark in the Scottish coast to which the Scot sailing from Glasgow bids farewell on leaving his native Caledonia, and the first which greets him on his return from journeying in foreign climes. It used to be said of the stalwart and hospitable Scots of Argyle, Winnebago County, that any chance visitor to their neighborhood was certain of a hearty "Highland Welcome" if he but correctly pronounced "Machrihanish" or "Southend."

Such were some of the products of this "Scotch Settlement" at Argyle. It would be impossible to trace their influence. Only the "book of remembrance" will reveal it. But so much of it as we know intimates, in a fragmentary way, perhaps what a community of God-fearing, honest, industrious, intelligent people may accomplish for the promotion of good government, for the encouragement of education, and for the advancement of the race.

Scots and their descendants have never comprised any considerable part of the legal profession in Illinois. What they have lacked in numbers, however, they have fully made up in the character, ability, and achievements of their representatives.

From the time of Senator Stephen A. Douglas to the diplomatic services of Hon. William J. Calhoun, the men of the race, who have

occupied official position, or have been active in the practice, have left records to which their countrymen may now refer with satisfaction. The brilliant career at the bar, on the bench, and as a statesman of Senator Douglas need not here be recapitulated. His public life belongs to the Nation, although Illinois claims him as one of her most distinguished sons.

A great lawyer, and an able and honored jurist, was Judge Thomas Drummond. Born in the State of Maine, his father, James Drummond, was a farmer of direct Scottish descent, noted for his sound sense and excellent judgment, qualities which his eminent son possessed in a high degree.

We may infer the insignificance of Chicago, and the importance of Galena, in 1835, when we recall that the latter city was described, by the writers of that day, as so many miles north of St. Louis, while no reference whatever was made to its distance from the present metropolis on the shores of Lake Michigan. The bar of Galena even then was composed of "some of the ablest practitioners in Illinois." Mr. Drummond soon was acknowledged as one of the leading lawyers in that entire circuit. The characteristics for which he was noted are epitomized by his biographers as "intense application to the solid work of his profession; investigation of facts and precedents; cautious and thorough analysis of the principles of law involved in the case at bar; and ,above all, absolute integrity, sincerity, and candor. (Kirkland's and Moses' "History of Chicago," vol. I, p. 161). He was appointed at the age of 41 by President Taylor to the office of United States District Judge for Illinois. In 1855, when the State was divided into two districts, he became the Judge of the Northern District. In 1869, he was promoted to the United States Circuit Court, which comprised then, as now, the states of Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. The period of his service was one during which many important causes were decided, especially those involving railroads. It is related that in this latter class alone, receivers were appointed representing bonded indebtedness of perhaps a hundred million of dollars. All this business came directly or indirectly under Judge Drummond's care, and his name passed through the long ordeal unassailed by a breath of suspicion, not only of corruption but of unfairness" (Idem, p. 161). He was a patriot in the true sense, never a partisan. His attitude towards the bar was invariably considerate, dignified, modest, firm. He ranks with the great judges who have adorned the United States Courts of this country.

Hon. William C. Goudy's name occupies a deservedly high place among lawyers in the general practice. The Goudie family's members were of Ayrshire, Scotland, origin. As elsewhere stated, the name was written in Scotland, Goudie. When the tyranny of the time led the Scots to emigrate to the Province of Ulster, and later to America, the orthography was changed to Goudy and Gowdy. As those who held it removed still farther westward, they settled in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and then came to Illinois. As one of his biographers (Hon. Ensley Moore, of Jacksonville, Illinois, in "A Notable Illinois Family," "Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society" for 1907, pp. 315-323), has well said: "He was born May 15, 1824, an era

when so many great men were born, and he was destined to become, or to make himself, the most prominent and distinguished member of the family. There was much in common, in the early days, of the various struggles of such men as Douglas, Lincoln, and Grant, with poverty and other adverse circumstances, and Wm. C. Goudy belonged to that class of men."

He was successively, school teacher, college-graduate, lawyer, State's Attorney, and State Senator; a power in the choosing of United States Senators; in the naming of Presidents; and in the selection of members of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is related of him that "in 1855 he argued his first case before the Supreme Court of Illinois. One hundred and thirty volumes of these reports have been issued (up to 1894), and in every one of them cases have been reported which have been argued by Mr. Goudy. In the higher courts of other Western States, and in the Supreme Court of the United States, he has been almost as conspicuous a figure." In his church relationships he was a leader, having long served on the Board of Directors of the McCormick Theological Seminary. Like Hon. Milton Hay, of Springfield, often he was consulted by distinguished public men, who held his opinion and advice in high esteem, and were largely guided in their course by his views.

Hon. William J. Calhoun was born in Pittsburgh, Pa., the son of a member of the Scottish Clan of Colquhon, as the name is written in Scotland. The Colquhons were of ancient lineage, and their chiefs were prominent in Dumbartonshire, and in other western districts of Scotland. One sect of the clan removed to Ulster, where the name came to be spelled more nearly as it was pronounced—Calhoun. The families of this latter branch were the progenitors of the Calhouns who have become distinguished in the United States. Mr. Calhoun's parents were Robert and Sarah (Knox) Calhoun. The historian, Francis Parkman, makes frequent mention of "Knox's Diary." This was the record kept by Capt. John Knox, a British officer who was Mr. Calhoun's great-grandfather. At the age of sixteen Mr. Calhoun enlisted in an Ohio Volunteer infantry regiment. When the Civil War ended, he removed to Illinois, worked on a farm, taught school, studied law, and became an attorney in Danville. In 1882 he was elected to the Legislature. Two years later he was elected State's Attorney for Vermilion County. In 1892 he was chosen general attorney for the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad. He had been acquainted in Ohio in youth with President McKinley, and in 1896 was active in bringing about his nomination. In 1897 he was appointed upon a difficult governmental mission to Cuba, which he discharged with fidelity and success. In 1898 he was selected as a member of the United States Inter-State Commerce Commission. The Venezuela difference called him into service in South America as a special commissioner, and there again he displayed great skill. From 1907 to 1913 he served as our Minister to China, and added to his already high reputation as a diplomat. His record was even that of a man of marked ability and integrity. He died September 17, 1916.

Several other names of men of Scotch birth and ancestry will illustrate as many different types of service performed.

Andrew Crawford, born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1831, was the son of an old and respected family. The Crawfords of that district in Scotland were eminent in the nation's history for centuries. Mr. Crawford's mother was of the Hay family, also a distinguished one. At the age of twenty-one he came to the United States; settled Geneseo, Illinois; studied law; in 1868 was elected to the State Senate; in 1873 made his home in Chicago; became a prominent attorney; was a specialist in railroad law; and when he died in 1900 was reckoned one of the wealthy and influential members of the bar.

Judge James A. Creighton, of Springfield, was elected to the State Circuit bench for six successive terms, a record only duplicated by the late Judge Joseph E. Gary, of Chicago, before whom the anarchists were tried. Judge Creighton was a native of Illinois. His biographer states: "He was always proud of the fact that his parents, John and Mary Creighton, were both born in Illinois, as well as that they were direct descendants of an old Scotch family that came early to the United States, and removed from South Carolina to Illinois in 1817." The name in Scotland is also written Crighton and Crichton, and one of the distinguished men who bore it will be remembered as "The Admirable Crichton." The name of his brother, Judge Jacob B. Creighton, of Fairfield, is well known in Southern Illinois. Judge James A. Creighton died in Springfield in 1916. He was a highly respected jurist, and an esteemed member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Hon. James McCartney, who was Attorney General of Illinois from 1880 to 1884, was the son of Scotch parents, although he himself was born in Ulster. He served as a volunteer in the Union Army successively in the 17th and 112th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. At the close of the war he settled in Fairfield. During his administration, as the chief legal officer of the State, the "Lake Front Suits" of Chicago, were instituted, which resulted, after extended litigation, in a decision in favor of the city. He was a painstaking lawyer, a faithful official, and a citizen who enjoyed the regard of the community.

Judge John M. Scott, lawyer and jurist, born in St. Clair County, August 1, 1824, was of Ulster-Scot ancestry. For half a century he lived in McLean County. He was County School Commissioner (that is, Superintendent), County Judge, Circuit Judge, Judge of the State Supreme Court. One of his notable works was his "History of the Illinois Supreme Court." He died in Bloomington, January 21, 1898. He wrote several valuable papers on the Ulster-Scots and their services in Nation-building.

In Illinois, as indeed the world over, the Scot as a banker has been conspicuous. The intelligent reader need scarcely again be reminded that the founder of the great Bank of England was William Paterson, the son of a Dumfriesshire farmer, who inaugurated the most comprehensive system of financiering of the last two centuries, which has since influenced the transactions of every civilized country.

The most widely known financier in the North-West, during the first half of the last century, was George Smith. He was born in 1806 in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, a district noted for its men of affairs,

ministers, scholars, military chieftains, and scientists. Like General St. Clair, in his youth Mr. Smith studied for the medical profession; like that soldier he came as a young man to America; but here their similarity ends, for Mr. Smith devoted his talents exclusively to civil pursuits, and became and remained wealthy.

When he arrived in Illinois, in the middle "30's," he came to a place which was only "in the gristle," and not far in, at that. Even then, however, he saw something of its possibilities, because of its geography, as did Wm. B. Ogden, its first mayor, and John Wentworth, Congressman, mayor and editor, and Isaac N. Arnold, lawyer, legislator, and historian, and others whose names are inseparably connected with the beginnings of the Garden City.

For several years he was engaged in various business enterprises. He extended his interests to Milwaukee, with whose large concerns he became closely connected. In these he was associated with Hon. Alexander Mitchell, another Scot, who was a banker, railroad builder, and National legislator. He was one of the early promoters and directors of the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad—now the Northwestern system—the first line west out of Chicago. He was a charter member of the Board of Trade of his city. In 1839-40 he established his bank in Chicago, which became probably the most important and influential financial institution in the North-West in its time. In 1860 he was accounted one of the richest and most successful men of the Nation. He strongly supported the Union in the Civil War. Upon his retirement from active life, he returned to Great Britain. He contributed liberally to the educational institutions of his native land, and was held to be one of the foremost financiers of his generation.

Kirkland's and Moses' "History of Chicago" (Vol. I, 517-18) contains the following:

"From 1837 to 1840, Strachan and Scott were bankers—an enterprising firm of Scotchmen associated with George Smith. In 1840, the banking firm of George Smith & Co., was established, and continued to be the leading house for about sixteen years, when it dissolved, and the senior partner retired to his native Scotland with an ample fortune, and a reputation of being one of the shrewdest and most enterprising business men, who had up to that time made Chicago their home. George Smith of Chicago and Alexander Mitchell at Milwaukee, were two Scotchmen who enjoyed, the latter until his death, a few years since (this was written in 1894) "a most successful career in finance and other enterprises. Their resources were boundless, and their energy untiring, and although many attempts were made by their rivals to crush them, they always discomfited their opponents and carried their enterprises to successful conclusions." Their institutions were popularly known as "Smith's Bank" and "Mitchell's Bank."

In Rockford were two Scots bankers—Thomas D. Robertson and D. H. Ferguson, who were known as leaders far beyond their own communities.

The brothers, James B. Forgan and David R. Forgan, are recognized as among Chicago's prominent bankers. When Lyman J. Gage

was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in President McKinley's cabinet, James B. Forgan became President of the First National Bank of Chicago, an office which he filled for nearly a quarter of a century with signal ability, satisfaction, and success. David R. Forgan was founder and is President of the National City Bank of Chicago.

Of John Crerar the "History of Chicago," by Kirkland and Moses (Vol. II, pp. 730-31), thus speaks:

"Mr. Crerar never married, and left no posterity to inherit his estate and perpetuate his memory. He made the public his heir, and erected a monument which will endure after marble has crumbled to dust, and the fame of mere earthly deeds shall have faded from the memories of men. By the provisions of his carefully prepared will he left the greater portion of his estate, amounting to two and a half million dollars, for the founding and maintenance of a free public library. A million dollars were bequeathed to religious, historical, literary, and benevolent institutions, one hundred thousand dollars for the erection of a colossal statue of Abraham Lincoln, and six hundred thousand dollars to relatives and friends."

Mr. Crerar was born in New York City, the son of Scotch parents. His father was a native of Crief, Perthshire, his mother's maiden name was Agnes Smeillie. His father died the year of the son's birth. In 1862 he came to Chicago, and was long the senior member of the Crerar, Adams & Co. firm. He had large holdings in a number of leading manufacturing and transportation corporations, banks, and insurance companies. His benefactions embraced many charities, and religious and other societies. He was a member of the Second Presbyterian Church, Chicago. The only office he ever held was that of Presidential Elector in 1888, when a Presbyterian elder was chosen Chief Magistrate of the Nation. He was a generous supporter of the Illinois Saint Andrew Society, the oldest chartered charitable organization in the State.

The fund which he provided for the library has been well expended. Two of its original trustees were the late Col. Huntington W. Jackson and the late Norman Williams, both intimate friends. That it might in no way compete with the great Newberry Library which is in the North Division, he provided that it should be located in the South Side. His high ideals are seen in this statement in his will: "I desire that books and periodicals be selected with a view to create and sustain a healthy moral and Christian sentiment. I want the atmosphere that of Christian refinement, and its aim and object the building up of character." Truly the library which bears his name is a memorial of the most enduring nature.

"The Crerar Library," says S. R. Winchell, in his "Chicago" (1910) "is exclusively a reference library, and aims to cover especially the field of scientific and technical literature, in order that the scope of the leading libraries of the city may not be duplicated."

Two companies of a semi-military character, organized for, and devoting much time and attention to, training in arms before the Civil War, won recognition in Illinois, and made fine records during the

Great Conflict. Each had a distinctive uniform. The members of both represented some of the choicest young men of Chicago. In the case of one, its leader met an untimely death early in the war; in the other, the Commander served throughout the war, and returned home in safety, after having passed through many hazardous experiences. These companies were the Ellsworth Zouaves and the Highland Guards. In the chapter of this paper entitled "Historical Publishers" mention is made of the first-named troop. In this connection reference will be made to the second.

The Highland Guards were organized in Chicago, on May 3, 1855. The members were Scotchmen. Their uniform was the Highland garb—kilts. On public occasions the Guards were in constant demand. In 1859, when the Centennial celebration of the birth of the poet, Robert Burns, was observed, and when probably the largest and most striking procession which Chicago had witnessed up to that time took place, the Highland Guards were the most picturesque division of the day. In 1859-1860, the records show these officers: Captain, John McArthur; First Lieutenant, Alexander W. Raffen; Second Lieutenant, J. T. Young; Third Lieutenant, Andrew Quade; Fourth Lieutenant, Robert Wilson; Secretary, T. McFarland; Treasurer, John Wood. Capt. John T. Raffen was in command when the Civil War began. The Guards were among the first to answer the call of President Lincoln. They were mustered in as Company E of the Nineteenth Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and soon were at the front. Thereafter their record is part of that of the splendid "Old Nineteenth."

One of this regiment's exploits was at the battle of Murfreesboro, otherwise called Stone River. General Rosecrans' gallant army there met the seasoned troops of General Bragg. The fighting had been heavy and protracted. At a critical hour the Confederates had made vigorous and successful inroads on the Union left. All along that sector the peril was so great that it seriously threatened other parts of the Federal lines.

The "Old Nineteenth," by a magnificent charge, achieved glory on the field that day. The apparently overwhelming tide of the opposing hosts was effectually stemmed. The impending disaster was turned into complete victory. General Rosecrans' army held the battle-ground. General Bragg's forces filed away to Chattanooga. In the rain of shot and shell, the valiant Colonel Scott, commander of the Nineteenth, was so severely wounded that he died soon after. Col. Joseph R. Scott was born in 1838 in Brantford, Canada, of Scotch parentage, and was one of the youngest colonels in the Union armies, having been made commander of his regiment in August, 1862, (James Barnet's "Martyrs and Heroes of Illinois," published in Chicago in 1865). The Highland Guards, with high courage and dauntless deeds, maintained the traditions of their countrymen at the relief of Lucknow; when they held "the thin red line" at Balaclava; and in the desperate engagement at Tel-el-Kebir;—a reputation which the Scotch troops perpetuated in many a sanguinary struggle during the late World War, when the kilted soldiers

came to be known and to be designated by the Germans as "the Ladies of Hell."

The contribution of this State to the Union armies during the Civil War is told in the ringing words of Dr. Chamberlin's popular song:

"Not without thy wondrous story,
Illinois, Illinois,
Can be writ the Nation's glory,
Illinois, Illinois."

Men of Scotch birth and blood had no small or inconspicuous part in that history. We may, but remind the student of our National chronicles of some of those whose achievements are known and read of all. We, therefore, need but recall the names of Grant, and Logan, and Rawlins, and McClernand, and David Hunter, and McNulta, and Owen and David Stuart, and McClurg, and Daniel Cameron, and Beveridge—all Illinois men of Scotch nativity or ancestry, who served in our armies, and whose deeds are large parts of our State's and Country's history.

Gen. John McArthur was the most prominent Illinois soldier of Scottish birth who was a Civil War Commander. He was born in the parish of Erskine, in Renfrewshire, on February 17, 1826. At the age of twenty-three he came to the United States, and settled in Chicago. For some years he was engaged in the manufacturing business. Amid all the activities incident to the establishing of his concern's enterprises, he found time to give to the building up of the Highland Guards. The year before the Civil War he was chosen its Captain. When Fort Sumter was fired on, he promptly volunteered, and was commissioned a captain in the Twelfth Illinois Infantry. His promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel was deserved and rapid. For gallantry at Fort Donelson he was made a Brigadier-General. He participated in the battle of Shiloh, where he was wounded, but immediately upon having his injuries dressed, he returned to the fighting line.

When the lamented Gen. W. H. L. Wallace fell mortally wounded, General McArthur succeeded to the command of his division. In the operations against Vicksburg, he commanded a division of General McPherson's corps. At the battle of Nashville, commanding a division, his services were so signally satisfactory that he won a brevet Major-Generalship. Upon returning to his home city, at the close of the war, he was for several years a member of the Board of Public Works, in which he repeatedly gave evidence of his honesty and ability. From 1873 to 1877, he was Postmaster at Chicago. General McArthur delighted to wear the "Scottish bonnet" which accompanies the full-dress Highland garb. In his residence of nearly three-score years in Chicago he was the recipient of many honors at the hands of his fellow-citizens. When he died on March 16, 1906, his passing was considered as a public bereavement.

Col. James McArthur, a younger brother of the General, and Maj. George Mason, a nephew, were brave soldiers, and respected by former comrades-in-arms, as well as by a large circle in civil life. Major Mason is a well-known and esteemed resident of Chicago.

As a born Scot would say, "it's a far cry," that is, a long way, from the Black Hawk War of 1832 in Illinois to the fateful field of Culloden of 1746 in Scotland. And yet, they are "sib" which as Robert Louis Stevenson might say, in our manner of speaking, means, related or connected by blood-ties.

Drumtossie, or, as it is generally known in history, Culloden, is a moorland situate only a few miles from "the rose red town" of Inverness, Scotland, also callled "the Capital of the Highlands." It was on Drumtossie, or Culloden Moor that "Bonnie Prince Charlie," sometimes styled "the Pretender," met total defeat, on April 16, 1746, and put an end forever to the attempts of the luckless house of the Stuarts to regain the British crown. The victorious army of King George was commanded that day by the Duke of Cumberland.

Many of the chivalric Highland chiefs had advised strongly against the "uprising," as the campaign of Charles Edward was designated. Among them was the gallant Lochiel. When, however, the Prince persisted in undertaking the enterprise, they threw themselves into it with characteristic abandon, although they foresaw inevitable disaster to the allied clans from the numerous and disciplined hosts that were marshaled against them. Scottish song and story perpetuate their loyalty and sacrifice on behalf of the scion of a dynasty that fell far short of their Highland idealism in his later life. The clans were decimated. The survivors became fugitives. Government offered large sums for the apprehension of Prince, chiefs, and other participants. Some, hunted like game, and hiding in caves and clachans, among woods and moors, at last made their way to the Continent. Others, after numberless hair-breadth escapes, succeeded in reaching the American Colonies. One of these latter was the grandfather of our Gen. Winfield Scott, who settled in Virginia. And, thus, Culloden's calamitous field gave the Colonies, in the Revolutionary War a gallant patriot soldier, and, subsequently, the United States the commander-in-chief of its armies.

The student of our history may read into this tragic incident of a decadent dynasty several strangely suggestive lessons.

Whatever may be said of the personal qualities and of the impossible dreams of Black Hawk, the war which bears his name was undertaken by many of the allied tribes as their final, desperate stand for what they beelieved to be their right to their ancient home and hunting-grounds, as against its invasion and occupancy by the white race.

It may interest the American reader to be reminded of the not inconsiderable contribution to Scottish literature which grew out of the various, though futile, attempts of the Stuarts to wrest the crown from the house of Hanover. The important fact is, that many of the distinguished Americans of Colonial, Revolutionary, and later times, were direct descendants of men who "came out in '45," that is, who joined "the Pretender" in that unsuccessful endeavor. The remarkable feature is, that they followed a leader, and forfeited their all for a cause, that represented in its extremest form "the divine right of kings," to become in this land the champions of personal liberty, and the founders of popular government on this side of the Atlantic.

Old Fort Dearborn occupied the site of what is now a business block opposite the south approach to the Rush Street Bridge, Chicago; on which business block was a tablet commemorative of the fort. The name connected with the building of Old Fort Dearborn is that of Capt. John Whistler. He was of Ulster-Scot blood. During the Revolutionary War he served in America under Burgoyne at the battle of Saratoga. After peace was declared, he entered the United States Army. In 1803-4 he was stationed at Detroit, and was detailed to the command of the post at Chicago, and to build there three forts. He remained in charge until 1810, when he was succeeded by Captain Heald. He became a major, and died in 1827. His grandson was James McNeil Whistler, the brilliant etcher and painter.

Col. A. J. Nimmo, of Jonesboro, Union County, was the son of a native of Virginia of Scotch ancestry. The colonel was a gallant volunteer soldier in two wars—the Mexican, and the Civil. He recruited and commanded the One Hundred and Ninth Illinois Volunteer Infantry in the great conflict, and made a record which was one of high credit. He was repeatedly honored by his fellow-citizens in having been elected to offices of trust, and discharged their duties with fidelity and ability.

Maj. John Wood, a leading citizen of Cairo, was a native of Scotland, having been born near Edinburgh. He came to the United States when he was seventeen years of age (in 1850). He was a brave and capable volunteer in the Civil War, and rose to the rank of major. He was a member of the commissions that built the State Hospital at Anna, and the Southern Illinois Normal at Carbondale.

The reports of State Adjutant General Allen C. Fuller, contain a complete roster of the Civil War Volunteers from Illinois, and also an outline-history of each regiment and battery engaged in the service from 1861 to 1865. From these voluminous and valuable records some interesting facts are learned. Thirty-one Illinois regiments, beside their numerical designations, had distinctive names, by which they were known. The Twelfth Regiment, whose first commander was Col. (afterwards Maj. Gen.) John McArthur, was called the "First Scotch." Its chief used to wear the "Scotch bonnet," which crowned a handsome and soldierly figure. The Sixty-fifth Regiment, commanded by Col. (afterwards Brig. Gen.) Daniel Cameron, was known as the "Second Scotch," also called the "Highlanders." The achievements of both regiments are among the most creditable of the Prairie State's Volunteers.

Of the officers who served in the Illinois regiments, and who attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and above that, we find in Adjutant General Fuller's records upwards of sixty who were of Scottish birth and ancestry. The officers from Major to Second Lieutenant of Scots descent number into the hundreds. These officers represent every arm of the service, and entered the army from practically every district in the State. It is needless to remind the reader that these Scots and Ulster-Scots and their descendants include the one who became the General of the United States Army as well as the most distinguished Volunteer Major General of the era. It may be added, that no instance is recorded wherein a single one of these patriot leaders was found derelict in the discharge of his duty, or who came out of the great conflict with a blot on his escutcheon.

The most distinguished literary man to whom Illinois may lay claim probably was Hon. John Hay. Lawyer, journalist, statesman, author, he was descended from John Hay, who fought with famous Scots Brigade in the Low Countries, and whose son emigrated to America. The family history relates that two of the sons of this soldier served on the side of the Patriots during the Revolutionary War. Although Indiana was the state of John Hay's birth, his active public life was shaped and begun in Illinois, and will always be held as a part of our State's heritage. Educated at Brown University, he studied law in Springfield, and in 1861 was admitted here to the bar. He became secretary to President Lincoln, and served in several military capacities during the Civil War. Called to important positions in our diplomatic service, he was successively connected with the United States Legations at Paris, Madrid, and Vienna. For a period he was engaged in journalism, having been editor of "The Illinois State Journal" of Springfield, and upon the staff of the "Tribune" of New York. In 1897 he was our Ambassador to Great Britain, and from 1898 to 1905 was Secretary of State of the United States. It was during his administration that the Panama Canal negotiations were carried to a successful issue; the integrity of China was recognized by the United States; also, the dispute settled with reference to Samoa, and the Alaska gold-boundary question. In the realm of literature his works include the well-known "Pike County Ballads," the "Castilian Days," the "Bread Winners," and, in collaboration with John G. Nicolay, the "History of the Life and Times of Abraham Lincoln." Several of his poetical contributions have included notable hymns of a religious character. His early impressions and experiences received while he lived in Illinois remained with him to the end of his career, and afford us warrant for claiming him for our State.

James Barnet, a half century ago, was one of the best known printers in Chicago. He and his brother Alexander were typical, loyal Scots, and were among those who organized the Scotch Presbyterian Church of that city. James was a book publisher and writer, and many pamphlets and not a few books, issued before the Chicago Fire of 1871, were from his pen and press. Nearly all these have disappeared. One, however, survives, and is in the writer's library. It is entitled "The Martyrs and Heroes of Illinois," and was edited and published in 1865 by Mr. Barnet, who was an industrious compiler. It contains a brief and appreciative biography of President Lincoln, and sketches of some seventy Illinois soldiers who were killed or died of wounds and disease during the war.

Peter Grant, born in the beautiful valley of the Spey, one of Scotland's largest and noted rivers, was for years the popular Bard of the Caledonian Society of Chicago, before he made his home in Detroit, Mich. Like so many other Scots who have the spirit and gift of song, he began to compose while still a lad tending the flocks and herds in his native strath. To Illinois he brought with him the warmest recollections of the land of heather and heroes, which find fitting expression in his varied verse. Loyalty to his adopted country is frequently and forcefully voiced in his limpid lines. Among historical collections, none furnishes more or better illustrations of the versatility of his muse than "By Heath and Prairie," published in 1900. Here we have the lyric,

the ballad, the love song, the nature study, the sturdy defense of the revered religion of his forefathers, the championship of freedom and right as they live in the Republic; mingled with a lighter vein that is characterized by pawky humor; and all having the lilt that reveals the true son of song in delightful doric and in present American.

In all of the Fifty-one General Assemblies of the State of Illinois, since its admission into the Union, the Scot has been a more or less prominent factor. The first chief executive of this Commonwealth who was of Scottish extraction was Joseph Duncan, of whom mention is made in the chapter devoted to "Education." The other Governors to whom we may refer who were of Scotch descent have been John L. Beveridge, John M. Hamilton, William J. Campbell (President of the State Senate and Acting Lieutenant Governor), and Frank O. Lowden. All served in the State or National Legislative Branch of the Government. Gov. Richard J. Oglesby (who was elected three times chief State executive, and also was a United States Senator, and a Major General in the Civil War) liked to trace his ancestry to Scotland.

The Scots and the descendants of Scots who were either Members of Congress or State Senators and members of the Legislature number close to two hundred. They have come from some sixty different counties of the one hundred and two in the State. In every one of the sessions of the General Assembly from 1818 to 1919, the impress of these Scots is seen in the framing of the session laws. Their work has covered practically every chapter of the State Statutes. As an illustration of the kind of legislation in which they have been prominent, it may be noted that members like Dan McLaughlin, Wm. Mooney, and W. H. Steen, of Will County, Wm. Scaife, of Grundy County, and David Ross, of La Salle County, have made records of the utmost value to the coal miners of the entire State, in providing for safety appliances and intelligent and rigid inspection of the mines where so many men are engaged in this hazardous occupation. The long and distinguished careers of Joseph Gillespie, of Madison County, and John McNulta, of McLean County (later of Chicago), are examples of the useful public services of descendants of Scots whose memories this State delights to honor. In the several Constitutional Conventions the Scot has had his part, as well as in such measures as Illinois shares in the World's Columbian Exposition, and in the commission which drafted the bill creating the great Chicago Drainage (Sanitary District) Canal, one of whose members, a Scot, then a State Senator, was largely instrumental in securing the passage in 1889, of this act which has secured to the Garden City a perpetual supply of pure water for its millions of people.

Few if any of the stalwart citizens of Kane County compared with Hon. John Stewart, of Elburn, commanding as he was in stature, he was even more so in character and ability. Farmer, lumberman, capitalist, legislator, traveler, he was a remarkable man. Born in New Brunswick of parents both of whom were Scotch, he passed over sixty years of his active, useful, and honorable life in Illinois. As a business man, his word passed current wherever it was given. As a member of the Legislature, he was incorruptible, capable, and courageous. In the councils of his political party, he was a leader. He was a man who did things, never one who was noted for his "much speaking." His brother, Hon.

Alexander Stewart, represented the Wausau, Wis., district in Congress for a number of terms. His son, Hon. Thomas Stewart, of Aurora, has served in the State Senate. Both brother and son worthily sustained the family reputation. Mr. Stewart was one of the famous "103" who elected, in 1885, Gen. John A. Logan to the United States Senate, the last time he was chosen to fill that office.

Hon. Robert A. Gray, of Macon County, was a member of the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth General Assemblies. He was of Ulster-Scot ancestry. He was a farmer, legislator and poet. His career as a law-maker was one of intelligence, industry, and honesty. He had in an unusual degree the ability of writing verse. Several of his lyrical productions have been widely published. They found a well-merited place in the "Readers" of the late Dr. Richard Edwards, who for four years was State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Illinois. One of the most pathetic and popular of these poems was entitled, from a line it contained, "There's But One Pair Stockings to Mend Tonight," tender, touching, and revealing the spirit and power of the true songster.

"Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war."

Sir William Keith, a Scot, was related to the "Illinois Country" during the era of French Dominion. As far back as 1718—the time of John Law—Sir William, who was royal Governor of Pennsylvania, sent out an agent, James Logan (also a Scot?), to explore this region, with the object of discovering some routes to the Mississippi which might be of use to the British. The report made by Logan is quoted in Andreas' voluminous and valuable "History of Chicago" (Vol. I, p. 79). Says Logan: "From Lake Huron they (the French) pass by the Strait of Michilimakina four leagues, being two in breadth, and of great depth, to the Lake of Illinois (Michigan); thence one hundred and fifty leagues to Fort Miami, situated at the mouth of the river, Chicago. The fort is not regularly garrisoned." It is stated, in the same history, that "this fort (at Chicago) was doubtless a stockade, erected by the French to facilitate the trade between Canada, via the lakes, and their settlements at Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres."

The introduction to Chicago of the orchard and garden products of southern Illinois was an enterprise of considerable value to both districts. The originator of this project was D. Gow, who was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, February 15, 1825, and, settling in Cobden Township, Union County, became one of the leading fruit and vegetable growers in that region. Those of the older generation who were acquainted with the late John B. Drake, whose name was so long connected with the famous Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, may recall that it was to him that Mr. Gow shipped his products which made that popular place one of the best in the Garden City.

Among the well-known and successful manufacturers, by whose enterprise the city of Cairo was built, was John T. Rennie, born May 20, 1819, in the "Auld Town o' Ayr," the native place of Scotland's National Poet, Robert Burns.

Family names have undergone numerous and radical changes in the United States, especially in the West, including and since the days of the

pioneers. The historian is frequently confused in his endeavors to trace these names to their parent-stems. The orthography has greatly varied with localities. This has been due to the people themselves, and to the public registrars of lands, marriages, births, and deaths. In many frontier communities, a century or so ago, there was little "book learning." Schools were few and far between. Teachers were rarely able to do more than impart the rudiments of the "three R's." Family records generally were not kept. When it became necessary to make record of names, the writers were often compelled to enter them on their books "as they sounded." Therefore, it came to pass, that a family name would be spelled one way in, say, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky or Ohio, and quite differently in Indiana and Illinois. Even in adjacent settlements these variations obtained.

A few illustrations will serve to show how these changes were brought about. It will be remembered that John Kinzie, "the Father of Chicago," was the son of John McKenzie, a Scot. Why John dropped the "Mc" and wrote "Kinzie" for "Kenzie" is now a matter of conjecture. In Scotland, Sinclair, (pronounced "Sinkler" with the accent on the first syllable) is that also written here St. Clair or Saint Clair. In Wigtownshire, Scotland, the name Hanna (from which Mark Hanna, of Ohio, descended), was long ago written "Hannay." MacMillan is variously written as McMillan, M'Millan, McMillain and McMillin. Jamieson becomes Jameson and Jamison. Stuart is also Stewart, Steuart, and Steward. Ainslie is changed to Ainsley, Ansley, and finally Ensley. Paton is Patton, and Patten. Tait is made Tate. Ballantyne becomes Ballantine and Ballentine. Goudie of Ayrshire, was written Goudy in Ulster, and when it reached Ohio, Indiana and Iowa, it was and is Gowdie and Gowdy. Mathieson of Gairloch, Scotland, is written Matteson in Colorado. But perhaps the most remarkable transformation is that of the Highland MacPherson, where the "Mac" was discontinued, and the "Pherson" became Ferson, and at last by some is written Farson. MacCutcheon has been so changed that Cutcheon is now Cutchen. These are but a few instances which will show to the reader how pioneer names, properly understood, can be traced back to their originals. The interested reader may find in this brief remark that which will aid in connecting present-time families with their remote ancestors, who in early day came across the Atlantic to these then distant parts of the American Continent.

Samuel Muir was the son of a talented Presbyterian minister, Rev. James Muir, a Scot who preached at Alexandria, Va., from 1789 to 1820, the year of his death. The son was born in the District of Columbia in the year of his father's settlement at Alexandria. He studied medicine in the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. In 1813, he became a surgeon in the United States Army. The year Illinois was admitted into the Union (1818), he resigned his commission, and married the daughter of the then chief of the Sac or Fox Indians. Settling among the people of his wife, he assumed their ways, and came to be considered as a leader. In 1828, he quitted the Indians, and went to Galena, where he practised medicine. In 1832, the year of the Black Hawk War, there was an epidemic of cholera among the United States Troops, and he

volunteered his services, which were accepted. Dr. Muir saved many lives by his skill, but fell a victim to the disease within a few months (Dr. Peter Ross in "The Scots in America," p. 160).

David McKee was the first blacksmith in what is now Chicago of whom we find any mention in the early histories. He was born in Virginia, in 1800, of Scottish ancestry. He married Wealthy Scott, daughter of Stephen J. Scott, who presumably was of Scotch lineage. It is said that he arrived at Fort Dearborn (Chicago) in 1822 or 1823. At all events, it is of record that he paid taxes in 1825, and voted in 1826 and 1830, and his name appears on the poll-list as an elector. He was employed for a time by the Government at his trade. He built a home and shop at what is now the corner of Kinzie and Franklin Streets. The other civilians' houses, outside the Fort, were then chiefly if not all on the north side. In 1828, he was the mail carrier between Chicago and Fort Wayne, Ind. He rode this mail route on horseback, and it took a month to make the round-trip—now by rail 151 miles, one way, and traversed by train in about four hours. He could speak fluently, the Indian language (probably the Pottawatomie). It is stated that he met at Chicago the families of the Israel P. Blodgett party, and guided them out to their future homes in what is now Du Page County. One of the early histories states that he served in the Black Hawk War in 1832. He died April 8, 1881, and is buried in the Big Woods Cemetery.

Capt. Joseph Naper, for whom Naperville, DuPage County, was named, was a prominent early citizen of the northern part of the State, and was of Scotch descent. In the early histories the name is spelled "Napier," that being still the recognized orthography followed in Scotland, where the family has not a few distinguished members. (S. Augustus Mitchell, published in Philadelphia in 1836.)

John Robertson, one of the leading men of Morgan County, and in his day probably the richest, was the son of Alexander and Elizabeth Robertson, both of whom were Scotch. He was born in 1823, and here became a leading banker. His Americanism was pronounced. In the time of President Lincoln and War-Governor Yates, he was reckoned among their most enthusiastic and capable supporters. When the Government, in Civil War times, needed financial assistance, as those of the past few years may well imagine, John Robertson, like Joshua Moore, and other loyal men of the county, liberally subscribed for its bonds, and otherwise labored to keep going the machinery of the National administration.

Two brothers, John and Samuel McCarty, were the founders of Aurora, Kane County, and were the sons of Charles and Mary (Scudden) McCarty, who were descended from old Protestant families of Scotch and English extraction. Samuel donated the land in Aurora on which was built the first Presbyterian Church. This place became famous as the one on which the first Republican State Convention was held, and where it received its name.* He was a generous contribu-

* The first Republican or Anti-Nebraska State Convention was held at Bloomington, May 29, 1856. This convention nominated for Governor of the State William H. Bissell who was elected and was the first Republican Governor of Illinois.

tor to education, especially in building up Jennings Seminary in that city.

In the north entrance of the Federal Building, Chicago, which was wrecked, in 1918, by the bomb of an anarchist, stands a bust of George Buchanan Armstrong. It was erected by the clerks of the United States Railway Mail Service, in honor of the founder of that branch of the Post Office Department. Mr. Armstrong, for whom a public school in Chicago is named, was an Ulster-Scot.

Says Dr. Ross (in "The Scot in America") of one who was an interesting figure half a century ago: "Very considerable space might be given to the exploits of Allan Pinkerton, the ablest detective who ever assisted justice in America. Sketches of this man's career are plentiful enough, and his successes and experiences have been told in a series of volumes bearing his name." Pinkerton was born at Glasgow, in 1819, his father being a policeman. He certainly became one of the best-known detectives in America, and was a terror to evil-doers of all classes. His home and headquarters were in Chicago, where he died in 1884. He performed valuable services for the United States during the Civil War.

When a native of Scotland would express his high appreciation of the ability of a youth of his acquaintance, he "cannily" describes him as "a lad of pairts." Such undoubtedly was Dr. Andrew Russel, the grandfather of Hon. Andrew Russel, of Jacksonville, former State Treasurer, and now (1919) State Auditor of Illinois. Dr. Russel was born in Scotland, in 1785, and his wife, Miss Agnes Scott, daughter of John Scott, was a native of Glasgow. In that city the Doctor received his literary and professional education. Upon his coming to Illinois, he bought a large farm some ten miles south of Jacksonville, remaining upon it until his removal to the County seat of Morgan County in the spring of 1853. There he continued to live until his decease in 1861. The Doctor was one of the prominent men of Morgan County. He and his wife, who lived to be octogenarians, were deeply religious, and were staunch Presbyterians. They left a record for loyalty, usefulness, and goodness which their children and their grandchildren have sustained. Auditor of State Russel is a banker of his home town, Jacksonville, and has long been associated with M. F. Dunlap, who also is well known throughout Illinois. Mr. Russel is one of the founders and a director of the Illinois State Historical Society.

In the realm of reformatory work for and among the erring, no one in Illinois occupies a more conspicuous place than Maj. Robert W. McClaughry. A native of Hancock County, Illinois, his ancestry was Ulster-Scotch, and Presbyterian by faith. He graduated in 1860 from Monmouth College, and when the Civil War began he volunteered, was elected a captain, served throughout that conflict, and rose to the rank of major. In 1874 he was appointed warden of the Joliet Penitentiary, filling that office until 1888; was superintendent of the Reformatory at Huntington, Pa.; was largely instrumental in framing and securing the passing of the act creating the Illinois Reformatory at Pontiac, of which he became Superintendent (1893-97); again warden of Joliet

(1897-99); and warden of the Federal Prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, from 1899 until his retirement from active service. As a penologist he has been recognized throughout the Nation.

Dr. J. D. Scouller, a native of Ayrshire, Scotland, was for many years the Superintendent of the Reform School for Boys at Pontiac before it became a State reformatory for older persons, and previous to the founding of the School for Boys at St. Charles. He had remarkable aptness for and success in this line of work.

The Illinois Saint Andrew Society is the oldest charitable organization chartered by the State. It was instituted in 1846 and was incorporated in 1853. Like all the other bodies of that name the world over, its object is to aid those of Scottish birth and ancestry who are in need. It has built, and maintains, near Riverside, Cook County, the establishment known as the "Scottish Old People's Home." This is endowed amply, and furnishes a beautiful, comfortable, and commodious retreat in their old age to nearly forty women and men. The Scot does not take kindly to a poor-farm or work-house, and the "Home" is a place for guests, not "Inmates." The building and endowing of this "Home" are due to the untiring efforts of John Williamson, a Scot, who has been President of the Illinois Saint Andrew Society, and is Vice President of the People's Gas Company of Chicago.

Every civilized nation was represented at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Those who visited it will recall the matchless "Court of Honor." It was the center to which all naturally gravitated. The most striking feature of that surpassing scene was the Colossal Fountain. It has been reproduced oftener perhaps than any other one part of the entire exhibition, and with reason, for easily it was the most beautiful. To it was and is attached the name of the gifted artist whose inimitable creation it was. The "MacMonnies Fountain" will live when the memories of the ornate structures which adorned the ample grounds are forgotten. The sculptor, Frederick MacMonnies, may here be named because of his many contributions to the plastic arts, and on account of his lineage. He came of a Dumfrieshire, Scotland, family, although he first saw the light in Brooklyn, N. Y. The influence of his marvelous conception is not measurable. And we may claim a part of this "Court of Honor" as of a son of one of Scotia's sons.

John Finley Wallace ranks among the great engineers of the United States. His father was Rev. Dr. David A. Wallace, the first President of Monmouth College, which is referred to in our chapter on "Education." Dr. Wallace's four sons have all made records for usefulness that are well worthy of mention. These are: John Finley, Rev. William, Rev. Mack H., and Charles, who has reached high rank in the United States Signal Corps; while his daughter is the wife of Judge Taggart, who has been Superintendent of Insurance of Ohio. John Finley Wallace, the oldest, studied at Monmouth, and has occupied important positions in the river and harbor work of the Mississippi, in railroad engineering and administration, as general manager of the Panama Railroad and Steamship Line, as engineering expert for the Chicago City Council's Committee on Railway Terminals, and in other important

enterprises of a similar nature. His professional standing is evidenced by his election to the Presidency of the American Society of Civil Engineers. His home and headquarters in recent years have been in New York, and yet Illinois does not waive the right to hold him as one of its sons of Scottish ancestry.

Malcolm McNeil and John McNeil, brothers, Scotch of ancestry, birth, and training, for upwards of half a century have contributed largely to the business history of Illinois. The wholesale grocery house of McNeil and Higgins is known widely and well. The brothers established themselves in Chicago after the Great Fire of 1871, and the firm has since then been one of the most prominent and prosperous. Malcolm McNeil, now (1919) 87 years of age, retains his active connection with its large interests and has his home in the North Division of Chicago. John McNeil, whose home was in Elgin, traveled for years to and from Chicago, covering a distance in his time of a million of miles. He passed to the great beyond in April of this year (1919) at the age of four score. For nearly half a century he was an honored officer in the First Baptist Church of Elgin, and was president of the Home Trust and Savings Bank of that city. Malcolm McNeil is one of the representative men of Chicago, esteemed throughout the community, one in whose entire career are illustrated the sterling qualities characteristic of the best of his race.

Where the Scot has cast in his lot—and where has he gone?—he has made a place and a name for himself, in the city and country alike. A few only, out of a number, are here mentioned, as time would fail, and space be utterly wanting, even to enumerate more than a limited list of those whose contributions have gone into the developing of Illinois. For from the days of John Kinzie—the son of a Scot, and known in all the histories as the "Father of Chicago"—until the present time, there has not been a decade in which Scotchmen have not been familiar figures, and played prominent parts, in the upbuilding of the city by the lake. Carlisle Mason and John McArthur had their names linked together before the Civil War. Mr. Mason is still represented by Maj. George Mason, who gallantly served his country during the Great Conflict. John Clark, a manufacturer, was a stalwart Reformed Presbyterian elder, who lost his life in the Chicago Fire of 1871. His name was continued by his son Robert, who with John T. Raffen formed the firm of Clark and Raffen. Robert was prominent in municipal councils, and was a generous supporter of the Illinois Saint Andrew Society. Captain Raffen was a brave soldier who went into the Nation's armies at the beginning of the war with the "Highland Guards." James S. Kirk founded the company of fine toilet soap manufacturers which carries his name. John T. Pirie and Andrew MacLeish, of the dry-goods house of Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., are known not only as merchants, but also as benefactors of church and educational enterprises. George Armour was one of the "grain kings" of his time, a loyal and liberal Presbyterian, one of whose memorials stands in the public square in his native city of Campbelltown, Scotland, to refresh with its cooling waters the passer-by. David R. Fraser and Thomas Chalmers were associated in the Eagle Works, of which P. W. Gates was president, and

later they established the Fraser and Chalmers Company, whose great shops were in Chicago as well as in Erith, near London, England, and whose machinery has found its way into mills and camps in every civilized land. Their sons, respectively, Norman D. Fraser and William J. Chalmers, sustain well their forbears' reputations. When Chicago was the world's great lumber market, John Oliver, John Sheriff, and John McLaren were among the leaders in that line. John Alston was at the head of the paint house of his name. Andrew Wallace was the successful manager here of J. H. Bass, manufacturer and banker, of Fort Wayne, Ind. William Stewart, wholesale grocer, of the firm of Stewart and Aldrich, was the father of Graeme Stewart, of whom mention is elsewhere made. The extensive ship-yards and dry-dock of Thomas E. and Brice A. Miller, brothers, on the North Branch, were patronized by vessel men of the Great Lakes from Buffalo and Duluth to Chicago. William McCredie, whose home was in Hinsdale, Du Page County, was for many years an official of the Burlington Railroad. John Crighton, a member of the Board of Trade, occupied a leading place as Presbyterian elder and business man. Sylvester Lynd sixty years ago was a prominent capitalist. George MacPherson was a pharmacist of high standing, a thorough and accomplished Gaelic scholar and one of the founders, and long an elder, of the Scotch Presbyterian Church. Hugh Templeton, a baker, well known, was one of the founders and an elder of the Jefferson Park Presbyterian Church.

The Scot in Illinois, as elsewhere, in the United States, entertains a sentiment for, and maintains a relationship to, his adopted country akin to the homeland, which, perhaps, cannot be more aptly described than by likening the former to the faithful husband and the latter to the affectionate son. He holds to the Scriptural injunction of leaving the parent, howsoever devoted, and cleaving to the wife. Hence, he becomes the patriotic naturalized American citizen, whose contribution to all that is best in the body politic is considerable, conscientious, and continuing. He sees to it that his children go and do likewise. He has never been known to pervert his nativity, nor to employ it, to obtain political position before the electorate. He has given America its most popular out-of-door pastime golf. In his anniversary celebrations he always links the toast of "The Land We Left" with that of "The Land We Live In." His countrymen are well aware that the "cottage where our Robbie Burns was born" is the shrine to which more American pilgrims annually travel, and is more popular, than even the home of the "divine William" at Stratford-on-Avon. He becomes and remains an American through and through.

The historical and biographical data herein given are necessarily incomplete. The object of the writer has been only to suggest somewhat of the field to be covered, and to intimate the sources from which the information expressed and implied have been obtained, together with the immediate and indirect influences of those who are named upon the creation and development of our Prairie Commonwealth. To the historian of the future must be committed the task—which here has been in the nature of a labor of love—of preparing a fuller, more comprehensive, accurate, and satisfactory chronicle of the Scot and his descend-

ants in Illinois. It is hoped that in this direction a beginning has been made. This has become possible by the courtesy of the Illinois State Historical Society, which already has accomplished so much in the preservation in permanent form of our State records, without which these annals would soon forever be lost to coming generations. Sincere thanks are also acknowledged to the Society's capable Secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, for kindly cooperation.

NOTE.—It is frankly admitted that, in the foregoing paper, there has been made scarcely more than a preliminary study of the subject, so far as known the first in Illinois.

Many State and local, as well as National, authorities have been consulted. The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to these, and to all who have cooperated throughout the collection of the data, and whose suggestions have aided materially in their preparation.

Particularly are thanks due, and hereby expressed, to these friends for cordial and valuable assistance:

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William J. Thompson, Chicago (formerly of Randolph County).
James G. Wolcott, Assessor Lyons Township, Cook County.
Mrs. Geo. M. Vial and family, LaGrange.
Charles Paterson, President Paterson Institute, LaGrange.

CLARK E. CARR, LATE HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. A TRIBUTE BY GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.

"I was born in a beautiful valley of Western New York, more beautiful to me than any other I have ever seen." Such are the opening words of "The Illini." The Day and Generation of its author was spent, and his full career terminated in Illinois.

Clark Ezran Carr, of Galesburg, Illinois, Honorary President of the Illinois State Historical Society, and its honored and efficient President from 1909 to 1913, after a lingering illness, due to the infirmities of age, peacefully passed away on the evening of February 28, 1919.

His death calls for appropriate action by this Society, which he had so long, so well and so ably served. Not only by reason of that service, however, but by reason of the likewise substantial fact, that in his death the State of Illinois has lost one of its most distinguished citizens, who for more than sixty years has been intimately associated with its progress and prosperity along many lines.

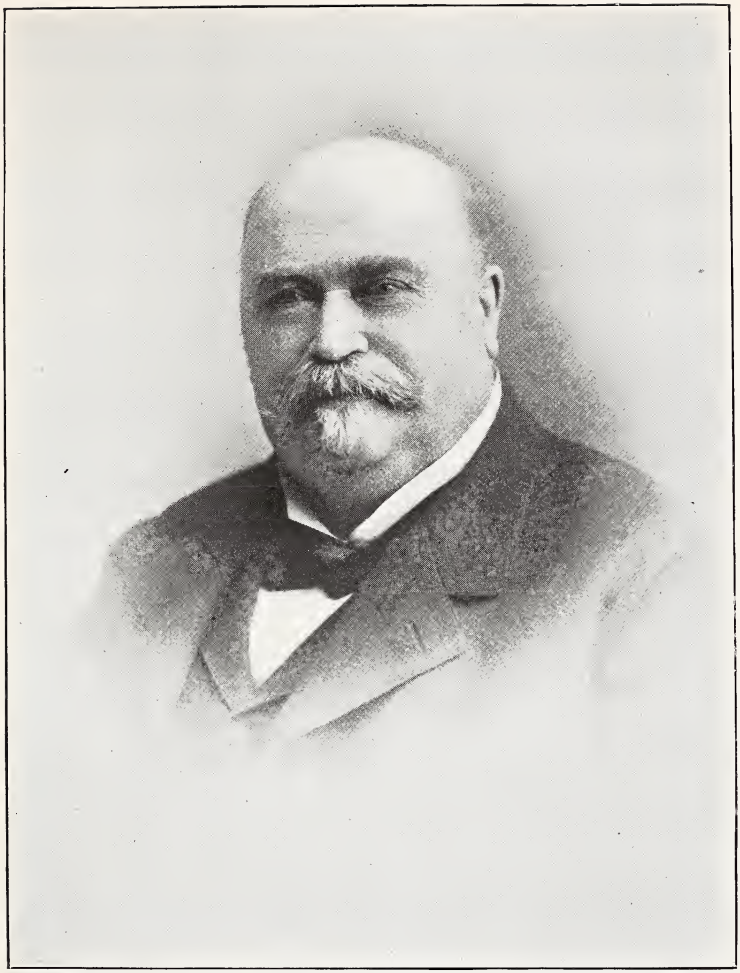
It has been given to but few men in the history of the State to have lived a career, embracing so many avenues of activity, in all of which he was especially prominent, efficient and successful.

An epitome of his life, necessarily briefly stated, will furnish a faint idea of the scope of his activities.

Clark E. Carr was born at Boston Corners, Erie County, N. Y., on May 20, 1836, and had he lived until today would have been eighty-three years of age. He was the son of Clark Merwin Carr and Delia Ann (Torrey) Carr. His mother died when he was but three years of age and when he was five years old his father married Fannie LeYaw, who became a devoted and affectionate mother to him and his brothers.

The family came West around the lakes in March, 1850, landing in Chicago. Here teams were purchased and they made their journey in prairie schooners to Henry County, Illinois, locating on a farm near Cambridge. In the autumn of 1851 they moved to Galesburg, where he maintained his residence from that time until his death.

Colonel Carr's paternal ancestry reaches back to Caleb Carr, former Colonial Governor of Rhode Island, and to Rev. John Clark, who was driven out of the Massachusetts Colony for preaching the doctrines of the Baptist Church. Like Roger Williams, John Clark went to Rhode Island (then a wilderness) and afterwards became its Governor. His great-grandmother was a Miss Clark, descended from Governor John Clark, and "Clark" has been the Christian name of his grand father, his father, of himself, and of the son who died just upon reaching his maturity.



Faithfully Yours.

Clark E. Carr.

His father, Clark M. Carr, was a man of unusual ability, interested in public affairs and with high ideals for his family. He provided early, educational advantages for them, of the better sort, and the son attended the District School of the village until he was eleven years of age. He then went to Springfield Academy, Erie County, N. Y., where he remained two years. At fourteen he arrived at Galesburg; entered Knox Academy and afterwards the Collegiate Department of Knox College, leaving at the end of his Sophomore Year, to commence the study of law. After a year at the Poughkeepsie New York Law School, he subsequently entered the Albany Law School, where he graduated in 1857, with the degree of LL. B. Returning to Galesburg, he entered into the active practice of law, which was interrupted after a few years, by his advent into active politics, and official life.

Colonel Carr came upon the field of action at a time when great movements were taking shape, regarding both personal and national destiny. Hardly more than a lad, he took part in the Fremont Campaign of 1856; became vitally interested in and closely followed the Lincoln-Douglas Debates. While an admirer of Douglas, he became the ardent champion and follower of Lincoln, and took an active part in the Presidential Campaign of 1860, in his behalf.

He had great gifts as a public speaker and had sedulously cultivated them under great teachers at the Albany Law School.

At the beginning of the war, he was appointed on the staff of Governor Yates, with the rank of Colonel, and throughout the war was engaged in the organization of regiments; in visiting the army to ascertain and improve its condition; and in bringing the sick and wounded home.

In 1863, he spoke at a Mass Meeting in Chicago, held for the purpose of sustaining Lincoln in the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, and his great speech from the Court House steps in Chicago at that time gave him a wide reputation as a finished and convincing orator.

His four brothers all filled important positions in the Army of the Republic. The splendid career of Gen. Eugene A. Carr is known to everyone. Byron O. Carr attained the rank of General in the Volunteer Army. Rev. H. M. Carr, D.D., served throughout the war with the rank of Chaplain, while the younger brother, George P. Carr, arose to the rank of Captain.

Colonel Carr was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Baltimore, in 1864, and was a delegate at large in 1884, to the National Convention, which nominated Blaine and Logan; and it may be said in passing that he attended every National Convention of the Republican Party for more than fifty years.

In 1861, President Lincoln appointed him Postmaster at Galesburg, Illinois, a position which he filled with rare ability until 1885.

In 1889, he was appointed by President Harrison, Minister Resident and Counsel General to Denmark, and while a Conference of Counsel Generals (of which he was a member) was in session at Paris, he received notice of his promotion, to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, in which position he represented our country in that brilliant Court for four years.

I think it may well be said that no member of the Diplomatic Corps of the United States was ever more cordially received and intimately treated by the Court, to which he was delegated, than was Colonel Carr. He had all the graces of the polished gentleman and at the same time the frank comraderie so natural to him that it admitted him to the closest relationship of friendship, while never giving offense.

Negotiations for the acquisition of the Danish West India Islands were begun while he held the position of Embassador, and could have been successfully completed at that time, but public sentiment in America was not yet ripe for their taking over, which has since been accomplished.

His championship of maize, and the introduction of American meats into Europe, led to his election as President of the American maize propaganda, and in further recognition of this work, in 1900 he was appointed to organize the famous corn kitchen at the Paris Exposition, the features and success of which the world is familiar with.

Perhaps one of the crowning services of his life was rendered as Commissioner of the State of Illinois, for the Soldier's National Cemetery at Gettysburg, to which he was appointed in 1863, and he was the last survivor of that distinguished body of men. He sat upon the platform at its dedication, very close to President Lincoln, and drank in every word of the Gettysburg Address. He was among the very first to appreciate that greatest speech that ever fell from human lips; he did not need to see it in print, for it was graven upon his memory. It became a passion with him, and perhaps more to him than to any other man, we are indebted to the universal knowledge and appreciation of it the world possesses today. The little book, "Lincoln at Gettysburg," published in 1906, contains material of world wide interest, to be found nowhere else.

Other public posts of responsibility and trust, undertaken by this man, were many; Illinois Commissioner for the Omaha Exposition in 1898; Trustee and Member of the Executive Committee of Knox College, since 1881; Director of the Galesburg Public Library Association from 1898 until his death; President of the Knox County Historical Society; President of the Illinois State Historical Society from 1909 to 1913; and Honorary President of the Illinois State Historical Society at the time of his death.

He had spoken for the Republican Party in nearly every northern state in every Republican National Campaign since 1856.

You will recall the custom of Henry C. Bowen, Editor of the "New York Independent" to celebrate Independence Day at his beautiful home at Woodstock, Conn. Year after year were invited the most distinguished orators of the country to take part on the program there held, which became of national importance.

On the Fourth of July, 1887, in response to an invitation to take part in the exercises, Colonel Carr delivered his great address on "The Life and Character of John A. Logan," which published in full in the "New York Independent" gave him a national reputation as an orator and historian of the first rank.

It will be interesting to note, as also showing a side light upon his ability, that in the published account in the "Independent" of date July 7, 1887, the program shows that the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" was sung by the vast audience there assembled, led by Colonel Clark E. Carr.

The closing words of this great oration may well be quoted here, as they concern another great son of Illinois, of whom we are justly proud:

"From time immemorial, men have vied with each other in commemorating the achievements of the brave. Statues and towers and arches, and great edifices, wonders of art, have been erected to their memory. The sublime epic of Homer, recounting their deeds of valor, is older than any monument of granite, of brass, or of marble, and will be read when those that are now being builded shall have crumbled to dust. The eloquence of Pericles and Lincoln, in honor of brave men, will go forever ringing down the ages; but no other man ever lightened the burdens, supported the tottering limbs, and assuaged the griefs of so many worn and weary and wounded patriot heroes as did John A. Logan."

Colonel Carr will ever be connected with the prosperity of Galesburg, Illinois, his home, through his efforts to induce the Santa Fe Railroad to build its Chicago line through Galesburg, instead of following a line, practically decided upon, about twelve miles south of that city. Through the efforts of citizens, headed by Colonel Carr, the company was induced to prospect a line through Galesburg, which was finally adopted, under conditions involving personal subscription and personal financial responsibility, which he, in connection with other citizens of Galesburg, gladlv and successfully met. The result was, as prophesied by him, in his letter to President Strong of the Santa Fe System: "They would find a town of about fifteen-thousand people, which with the added impulse the coming of the Santa Fe would give it, would make certain a town of twenty-five-thousand people," which has been more than justified.

The foregoing is but a part of the civic and political activities of Colonel Carr and, briefly stated, as they are known to all.

Colonel Carr was married on December 31, 1873, to Grace Mills, only daughter of the Hon. Henry A. Mills, of Mount Carroll, Illinois. One daughter, the wife of Brig. Gen. William P. Jackson, now in France, one grand-daughter Margaret Jackson, and his widow survive him. An only son, Clark Mills Carr, born on March 16, 1878, served with credit during the War with Spain, in the 9th Illinois Regiment Infantry. He later met an accidental death by drowning in the North-West.

In his public career, before mentioned, reference might be made to his candidacy in the 70's for the nomination to Congress. In 1880 he was candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor, and again in 1888, having a strong following in both Conventions.

In 1887 he was candidate for the caucus nomination, of his party, for the United States Senate and had the unanimous and hearty support of his own county and senatorial district. While failing in achieving

these honorable ambitions, reverses never embittered Colonel Carr, nor caused him to swerve in his party allegiance, but it did give him an intimate relation with the politics of his State and a wide acquaintance with its men of public affairs. His whole experience and later promise brought him in contact with the great men of the State and of the Nation; and no man in Illinois had a more comprehensive knowledge of the State's political history, or could treat of its men and measures with greater charm.

A natural orator, he was at the same time an accomplished elocutionist, and could not only repeat in words the great speeches of men and the stirring lines of actors, but could accurately reproduce them in tone and expression. The thorough knowledge of men and history of his time, which he possessed, was a very valuable asset in the work of his closing years, along literary lines, which I now approach.

His retirement from public life did not mean for him a life of ease and pleasure. Without communicating his ambitions to his friends, at the outset, he began putting into permanent literary form his recollections and reminiscences. His first book, "The Illini," (the manuscript prepared in his own handwriting) was practically finished before it was submitted for criticism or suggestion, to even his closest friends. It treated in the pleasant form of fiction, of the development of Illinois, and the stirring events that preceded the Rebellion. Its dominant character had been a member of the Galesburg Colony in the early days of the Underground Railroad, and many of the people prominent in the development and growth of the State were interwoven in this most pleasing romance, which achieved a distinguished literary success and has passed through 15 editions, still finding ready sale.

Following this was the "Life of Stephen A. Douglas," which is today the authoritative life of that great man, and commends itself to every impartial historian.

In "My Day and Generation" are preserved very many interesting sketches of men found nowhere else, of permanent value to his "day and generation" and to succeeding generations, all drawn from his prolific memory and embellished by his felicitous expression.

"Lincoln at Gettysburg" I have already referred to, as perhaps having accomplished as much as any other one thing the re-awakening and quickening of interest in the life of that great statesman, while the history of the coming of the Atchison & Santa Fe Railroad and of the Postal Railway Service, though of minor and to some extent local importance, are still of great historical value.

His activities in promoting the memory of Lincoln and deepening the public's appreciation of him, were noteworthy. He was especially interested in the celebration of the anniversaries of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates throughout Illinois, at the various points at which they were held, and succeeded in assembling the great orators and statesmen of the country to give prominence to such celebrations. Notably at the celebration under the auspices of Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois, it was his personal influence that procured Chauncey M. Depew, ex-Governor Palmer and Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, as speakers upon that occasion.

It is impossible, in the brief time permitted here, to do justice adequately to the public life of this man; for he was a man. He played a man's part in the discussion of the grave questions preceding the war; a man's part when the Union was in danger, and was the last of that score of Immortals, who have dignified and glorified the name of Illinois, chief among whom was Abraham Lincoln! It was a brilliant galaxy of men, who were his co-workers and compatriots: Stephen A. Douglas, Orville H. Browning, John Wentworth, Jonathan Blanchard, Lyman Trumbull, David Davis, John A. Logan, John W. Bunn, Richard J. Oglesby, Newton Bateman, Norman B. Judd, John M. Palmer, Leonard Swett, Joseph Medill, Shelby M. Cullom, Richard Yates, and Ulysses S. Grant! Of these names, (and there are others) only the one remains; the friend of Lincoln and the intimate associate of them all—John W. Bunn, "The grand old man" of Springfield, (and may I say) the first citizen of Illinois!

I have attempted to give a brief outline only, of the life and accomplished service of Colonel Carr, as the public knew him and as impartial history will measure and place him. I feel that this memorial would be incomplete to all of us here present, who personally knew and loved him, if I did not make special reference to him as a friend and co-worker and to the man as he was known and understood by those, who were in close relationship to him.

I have spoken of his oratorical and literary ability, but his greatest charm lay in the fact that he made such constant use of them in every day life, that he shed about him and upon all who came in contact with him real enlightenment, and under the wizardry of his personal charm, palest prose became poetry; and mere music, a swelling symphony.

His tastes were all of the uplifting order. He loved music, art, literature, in all its forms; whether in the printed page or when spoken in words. He knew intimately much of the world's best literature. His wonderful gift of memory enabled him to convey it to his friends and listeners, with all the freshness and fire of the original; a memory remarkable in its capacity and scope that would permit him to recite entire acts from Shakespeare with the impressiveness of a Booth or an Irving; that could quote the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" throughout, without hesitation; that treasured up the immortal words of statesmen, orators and poets of all the ages, and could reproduce them to our edification and delight.

Especially was he fond of sacred music, and the old hymns, all of which he knew by heart. He once said "There is more power and persuasion in 'Coronation' and in 'The Portuguese Hymn' than in the assembled volumes of the most brilliant skeptics combined!"

His library was a working library, and within its walls he was at his best. It was a veritable "sanctum sanctorum" and there he spent his declining years. Wide-awake to the present; interested in the progress of human events the world over; loyal, patriotic, apprehensive of his country's danger in these days of stress, but resigned to the fact that his activities were of the past. It was there he sought and invited the companionship of those he loved.

His home was ever of the most hospitable sort. He was a host beyond compare. At his home, the most distinguished men and women of the day have gathered. On one occasion the President of the United States and his entire cabinet, with one exception, were guests beneath his hospitable roof.

He was the very soul of kindness, and beneath at times a brusque exterior, there beat a warm, sympathetic heart. I recall not so many years ago, when a faithful man-servant was stricken with small-pox, and removed to the pest-house, the close attention that he gave to see that everything possible was done for him. Dumb animals loved him, and for years a large deer-hound was his constant companion. Were he out of the city, the faithful dog was inconsolable.

He was not a rich man in the sense of dollars. He had not given himself to large acquisitions, but he had achieved through his long life a remarkable culture, that while personal to himself, was of benefit to others in that his kindly nature placed it freely at their disposal and command.

He was a notable figure in any assembly. Did he spend the evening at the social club his chair was sure to be surrounded by interested listeners, held there by the charm of his discourse and the overflow of his well filled mind. Emphatically of *this* generation, in that he was alive to all of its necessities, opportunities, and requirements, yet it can be as truly said of him that he was a rare representative of the "old school gentleman." Choleric, if you please, on occasion, yet ever dignified, courtly and benign, his memory will be cherished in Illinois as one of the "Men," the meaning of the word implied, and, the verdict of Illinois, in passing upon his enrollment in that List of Honor, will be "He has well served his 'Day and Generation.'"

THE WAR WORK OF THE WOMEN OF ILLINOIS.

[Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Member of the Illinois State Council of Defense, and Chairman of Women's Activities for War Work.]

At the beginning of the war, the Council of National Defense in Washington appointed a Woman's Committee to have charge of women's war work throughout the country. In every state in the Union a temporary chairman was appointed who was asked to call together a meeting of all the women's organizations in the State and to elect their own officers.

In May, 1917, the heads of all the women's organizations in Illinois, gathered together, elected their officers and formed the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, Illinois Division; I was elected chairman. At the same time the Governor did me the honor to appoint me on the State Council of Defense and I was made chairman of women's activities throughout the State. The two organizations were thus combined in one under one set of officers but always kept their two names, which was found to be of great value on occasions. *For example,* when the legal advisor of the State Council of Defense gave as his opinion that all the money raised by the State Council's various committees, should be put into the hands of the treasurer of the State Council and requisitioned out *only by the* State Council, it was a great comfort to be able to say that our money was raised under the name of the Woman's Committee, Illinois Division.

We were told in the beginning, to prepare for a long war and believing that *organization* was more important than anything else, we built a very solid foundation. From Cairo to Rockford, from Quincy to Paris every county, city, town and township in Illinois added its unit, one by one, to make up the most complete organization of women that Illinois has ever attained. An organization including women of all classes, creeds and nationalities united in one democratic force, working under one standard *"Win the War."* We have in the State 2,136 local units. The work of the committee was initiated as various needs presented themselves, until finally there were 18 full departments of the committee whose work was directed by 7,700 chairmen. The active workers in these various departments, numbered 326,323. The committee was housed at 60 East Madison Street, Chicago in a large vacant store donated by Burley & Company but later moved into the State Council of Defense building at 120 West Adams Street where it occupied an entire floor with several rooms on other floors. The State Council gave this space with telephone, heat and light, rent free and, in addition, furnished the services of two stenographers, postage and office supplies amounting to about $1,000 a month.

After the armistice was signed the committee gave up its rooms in the State Council of Defense Building and moved into offices in the Fine Arts Building which will be kept open until October 1, 1919.

When the war began we felt that one of the most important things to be accomplished was to take stock and find out how many women could be depended upon to render war service; we therefore asked women to register; *First*—that we might know how many there were who could take the places of men as post women, taxi cab drivers, chauffeurs, census takers, elevator women, gas inspectors, etc. *Second*—that we could classify those who registered in order to call upon them for service. The committee registered for war work 692,229 women. The registration cards (which were the same all over the United States but which were prepared by Illinois) were kept in every city and town where registration was taken and have been of great value in furnishing workers for governmental drives, for the exemption boards, for nurses in the recent influenza epidemic and for many other purposes. In Chicago alone, the registration was very small, compared with the State, comprising only 150,000 women, yet out of this 150,000 women, whose cards were kept in our office, 7,052 lists of women and the names of 17,000 individual workers were given to various war associations asking for volunteers. In Chicago, 300 regular workers were provided for the exemption boards and over 300 nurses were at one time furnished the Red Cross, saving the situation and bringing help to the influenza victims, in one of the recent epidemics.

In Chicago, the registration cards were kept in the department known as the "Volunteer Placement and Filing Department" and as many as 18,000 calls a month were sent out by this department. The women who registered offered every type of service, from the stenographer who worked all day and offered to give every evening to help win the war, or the little cripple confined to her bed who, because she had trained a canary bird, felt that she could train carrier pigeons for the United States Army or the woman who registered that she "Was willing but nervous and could pray if necessary" to the woman of wealth who offered her machine, her house and all her employees for the use of wounded soldiers. The registration in Illinois would undoubtedly have been larger if the women had received more education on the subject but, although there were 10,000 registrars in Chicago alone, German propaganda hindered registration as there were repeated stories among the foreign born to the effect that if a woman registered she would have to leave her family and go abroad. For this reason the registration in Chicago was not as large as it should have been, yet the State registered a larger number of women than any other state in the Union except one.

The Finance Department raised most of its money in a democratic way. Every woman who registered was asked to contribute 10 cents if she felt she could afford it and $73,000 was raised in this way. Half of this amount was sent to the State Treasurer and the other half was kept by the city or town where the registration was taken. In addition, nearly $100,000 was raised by subscription or in business ventures. At one time, when the War Department was urging the use of potatoes instead of bread, the Finance Department put upon the streets of Chicago and in some of the towns throughout the State, packages of potato chips which they called "Liberty Chips" and these chips, selling for 5 cents a package, in Chicago alone netted $7,000 in three days. At an-

other time a moving picture called "Belgium, the Kingdom of Grief" was shown at the Auditorium. There were French nights, English nights, and Belgian nights and the net proceeds of the performance, for one week, was $11,000. In addition, the committee raised $485,000 by Tag Days for various war and other charities and sold $3,250,000 worth of Liberty Bonds. The expenditures to date have been $97,793.98.

The Speakers Department, numbering 300 women and 265 men, has sent its speakers to all parts of the State. They have attended 2,408 meetings and have reached 600,509 people, carrying the war message as an off-set to German propaganda, to even the most remote hamlets in the State. Of course, some of the requests for speakers were absurd; one club wrote that they wanted "an atrocity sent them who would tell war stories set to music," but on the whole, the demand for information was genuine and was sorely needed. At one meeting, whose subject was "Thrift and War Saving Stamps," the opinion seemed to prevail that these stamps were something like the Red Cross Tuberculosis Stamps and were to be attached to the envelope of every letter. At another meeting where the subject of "Liberty Bonds" was being discussed, a foreign woman arose and said she did not think it was right for the Government to put out these bonds, they were the kind her old man bought when he wanted to get out of jail and she did not think it was right for the Government to make it any easier for him. This department will continue its work as the Speakers Committee of the Community Councils of Illinois.

At the beginning of the war we found that large numbers of women, most of them over 40 years old, whose husbands or sons had gone to the war, came to us for employment which was necessary in order that they might live. Some of the officers of the committee were so besieged with applicants, that it was found necessary to open an Employment Department. About twenty volunteers, women of experience, were put to work interviewing the applicants and it was a touching sight to see, in the waiting room of this department, as many as seventy-five women at a time, well dressed and with gray hair, all waiting for an opportunity to get some kind of employment. At first, when they were told to go to the free employment bureau of the State or the Government, they would say that they could not as it was too humiliating but that they did not mind coming to a war organization to ask for help in this crisis of their lives. We have registered 9,082 such women and have found positions for 2,205. One of the first difficulties encountered in placing them was that they had had no training; they all wanted positions of responsibility and they all felt they were capable of filling them although they had never had any previous experience. One woman wanted to be put in charge of the keys of an association and dozens of women asked for the position of office manager as they seemed to feel that this was an honorable position which did not require much skill. Many of them wanted to look after children and felt that they knew all about them, their reason being no better than that of the Irishwoman who had borne ten and lost nine. The majority asked for a position as housekeeper because, having kept their own home they seemed to feel that in this matter they would be experienced.

We found it was necessary to establish training courses in order that these women might secure such instruction as would enable them to take clerical and other positions. Training courses were therefore established in 65 cities of the State and 90 courses were offered in Chicago. These courses included Telegraphy, Filing, Indexing, Stenography, Home Nursing, Economics, Wireless, Motor Driving, Engineering, Dramatics, Story Telling, and special courses in the Public Evening Schools. Whenever there was a sufficient demand for a certain course of instruction a way was found to secure teachers and form a class in that particular study. Even after the armistice was signed, women and soldiers, who had had experience in telegraphy and clerical courses, still offered to give their evenings in order that they might train those who desired instruction. This department has paid a teacher in the Favill School for the Handicapped and given her $1,500 worth of equipment. It also gave $5,000 for the Bureau of Returning Soldiers and Sailors. This Employment Bureau met with such success that early in the war it was taken over by the United States Government who paid all of its expenses but allowed the entire direction of it to be under the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense and all its volunteers to come from that body.

In connection with this department it was found necessary to establish a Mending Shop for very old women, some of them over 70 years of age who were too old to take a regular position. This shop has been very successful, is nearly self-supporting and gives steady work to about thirty women. Its headquarters are in the Venetian Building and it has now been placed under the management and is being supported by one of the large clubs of Chicago.

The State Council of Defense has done a magnificent piece of work all over the State but its activities have largely had to do with questions concerning Military Matters, Finance, Crops, Labor, Business, etc., while the Woman's Committee has had more to do with women and children and with the practical details of the home; it has dealt mainly with human beings.

The Child Welfare Department financed and managed by the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund has weighed and measured 325,000 children and has instructed the parents of these children as to their proper care. It has 1,000 child welfare chairmen throughout the State and has put out 1,750,000 pieces of literature and 227,000 windows cards, posters, buttons, etc.

This department has succeeded in stirring up the State to the necessity of conserving its children, even the school boys became interested in the subject; one boy wrote a composition in which he said, "Now that we are at war, it is everybody's business to have a baby and to save it."

This department has also conducted the "Back to the School" drive which was ordered by the President of the United States and it is making its work permanent by the establishment of the child welfare centers, community nurses, increased medical inspection in the public schools and the education of mothers in the care of children.

During the war the government called upon the women of the country to practice conservation and our Conservation Department has

given throughout the State, in almost every town and city, demonstrations concerning substitutes for sugar and flour, the re-making of clothes and the necessity for the elimination of waste. It has been very difficult to get any figures from down-State and it would be impossible, in a short report of this kind, to give an account of the various cities where stores have been taken, demonstrations given, canning done, and other efforts made to conserve food for ourselves and our allies. In Chicago alone, 205,000 women were reached by these demonstrations, which were held in vacant shops, department stores, settlements and even on motor vans which were turned into portable kitchens. One store at 28 North Wabash Avenue, was fitted up as a kitchen, demonstrations were held here every day and the articles cooked, sold for a moderate amount. This store alone, in six months, was visited by 60,000 people. The vice-chairman of this department was the head of the States Relation Service in Chicago and had her office with the Illinois Food Administration Department so that when an order was received by this department, from the Government, it was at once transmitted to this vice-chairman who gave it out to the city and the State.

The Recreation Department tried to reach the girls of the State by forming them into Girls Patriotic Leagues. Twelve thousand members were thus enrolled; these girls taking a pledge which stated that they promised to do better than they had ever done before, the particular thing which they were then doing. Each girl wore a button and in different parts of the city, many girls were drilling as they wanted the physical exercise. Once a month, or oftener, these Patriotic Leagues held meetings where they had some inspiring speakers and, occasionally, 3,000 or 4,000 of them gathered together in the big Auditorium of the Municipal Pier. This department was taken over by the War Camp Community Service of the United States Government.

The Social Hygiene Department, just taken over by the State of Illinois, whose chairman has been made supervisor of Health Instruction for Women of Illinois, has had a corps of over 50 physicians who have given instruction to girls and women, in shops and factories, and have shown moving pictures called "How Life Begins" and "The End of the Road," etc., which have attracted large audiences to the State Council of Defense Building. Fifty-four thousand women and girls have been reached in Chicago by this department and these lectures are being booked and the films shown in various parts of the State.

The Food Production Department immensely stimulated the raising of crops throughout the State. It issued primers for the school children giving instructions "When and How to Plant Cold Frames," "When to Plant in the Open," "How to Raise Vegetables," etc. It found, upon investigation, that only one out of every four farmers in Illinois, raised their own vegetables and an appeal was made to the farmers' wives to start their own gardens and "take their families off the market." This committee had 110 school gardens and 90,000 war gardens manned by children reported to it.

Appreciating the fact that if the war continued, women must do the work of men upon the farm and that they must have some training,

a farm of 250 acres at Libertyville, Illinois, was loaned us, rent free, where women were trained for agricultural and dairy pursuits. This farm had eighteen cows, hogs, sheep, chickens, etc. The girls all lived in a large new cow stable where the stalls were made into bedrooms, 76 girls were made into farmers; they drove a tractor, cultivated the land, planted the crops, gathered them in, made and sold butter and cheese and did all the work of a farm. One thousand applications were received from girls who were interested and 40,000 people were addressed on the subject of agricultural pursuits. The equipment of this farm, including its stock, has been given to Blackburn College, Carlinville, Illinois, where an agricultural course for girls is to be opened.

Knowing that a "Singing Nation is a Winning Nation," we have tried to arouse patriotism by Community Sings and 265 Liberty Choruses were organized through the State and 81,000 song books have been distributed. On Thanksgiving Day, 1918, 125 Community sings were given in the State and at stated intervals the Community Choruses of Chicago, including a Children's Chorus of 1,000 children, met in the Assembly Hall of the Municipal Pier and gave most stirring concerts. This Department has been taken over by the Federation of Musical Clubs.

The Women and Children in Industry Department has bettered the condition of women and children in industry, throughout the State. It published a report on Standards for Women's Work. It investigated munition factories and made certain recommendations concerning women. It has had an investigator throughout the State, looking after the interests of school children. It has made investigations where women were employed by the Government on woolen underwear. It persuaded one of the large railroads in Chicago not to employ women for handling heavy freight. It has reported on all violations of the Child Labor Law and has had an exhibit on women in war time. The woman's division of this department has been taken over by the Woman's Trade Union League and the children's division by the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund.

The War Information Department has supplied public school principals and others throughout the State, with war information. At one time, within a period of three weeks, it sent 143,000 pamphlets to its 500 war information chairmen. It has supplied the public schools of Chicago with over 10,000 pamphlets; has stimulated the principals of these schools to have the children write essays upon certain subjects connected with the war and which in many instances, especially in foreign neighborhoods, have done much to bring parents to the realization of the meaning of the war. This department has also supplied speakers and others connected with the Woman's Committee, with information concerning war work for women not only in this country but abroad. It has published several pamphlets on the subject and has sent out thousands of letters and circulars containing valuable information. This department will be continued as "The Information Committee of the Community Councils of Illinois."

The Publicity Department has not only managed the publicity for the Woman's Committee, getting articles in the paper every day, but it has sent throughout the State every week, a "News Letter" and, in

addition, has published two camouflage recipe books, has awarded prizes for sugarless puddings and candy and at one time, with the Conservation Department, took a vacant store, made and sold 4,000 pounds of sugarless candy. It has also conducted a "Do Without Club" of over 2,000 people. At one time it held a large meeting for the cooks of the city, at this meeting, patriotic speeches were made and an attempt made to impress upon the cooks the necessity of conservation.

The Americanization Department, although organized late in the summer of 1918, has conducted three institutes for the foreign born; has had large meetings for different nationalities and has reached over 50,000 people. This department will, in the future, be conducted by the Woman's City Club of Chicago, Federation of Clubs and other organizations.

The Social Welfare Department has made connections between 1,516 volunteers and social agencies and it is estimated, has saved these agencies $100,000 which, if it had not been for the volunteers, they would have had to pay to their social workers. In addition, this department provided wool for the "Shut-Ins" in hospitals, insane asylums, old peoples homes and prisons, where the inmates, for the first time, felt that they were doing something toward winning the war. One cripple who had been on his back for thirty years, in the poor house, was almost made over when he found he could knit socks for the soldiers abroad. In the Old Ladies Home, one old woman who had been in the habit of knitting all day and unraveling at night what she had knitted, in order that she might knit it over again the next day, burst into tears when she was told that she could have all the wool she wanted to knit into useful articles for the soldiers. This department has been taken over by the Central Council of Social Agencies.

The Allied Relief Department raised for relief $788,130.68 and has sent to Europe 705,140 hospital supplies; 182,035 garments; 27,188 kits, and has adopted 8,844 fatherless children.

I want to take this occasion to make recognition of all the help which has been given to the Woman's Committee, not only by firms, who have given us, rent free, stores and offices, who have done our printing for nothing or at reduced cost and who have in every way aided and encouraged us, but I also wish to thank the individuals who have given us generously of their time and money and I want to express to every one of the women who have helped the Woman's Committee, my thanks for their loyalty and their willingness to cooperate.

The Woman's Committee of the State Council of Defense and the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, Illinois Division, will go out of business when peace is declared and proclaimed by the President of the United States or at least, as soon afterwards as it is possible to close up their affairs. However, the United States Government, through the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture and the Field Division of the National Council of Defense, are asking all the State Councils of Defense and all the Women's Committees throughout the country, to throw the strength of their organizations into community councils. Organizations in every town and city or in every ward in the larger cities, composed of representatives of every

organization both men and women, will come together, form a community council and take up whatever work comes to their hand; it may be clean milk or it may be clean streets but this centralizing of the organizations of a town will prevent duplication of effort, will be democratic and will have a tendency to do away with the insidious propaganda which is spreading through Europe and which is even menacing our own country.

The Community Councils of Illinois have already been organized with headquarters in Chicago and a temporary State committee of fifteen people elected by representatives from all over the State.

When we went into the war we saw in our mind's eye, the shell torn battlefields of France, the ruined villages, the desolate homes, the long dusty highways full of artillery wagons, guns, cannon, motors, ambulances and all the paraphernalia of war and that endless procession of khaki clad men who had crossed the seas to fight for the most righteous cause for which any nation ever fought.

Nearly two years have passed since that time; two years full of momentous events and we know now, that those boys of ours with a smile on their lips and the spirit of a crusader in their hearts, went into the fight at the crucial moment and, by the sheer weight of their will to win, turned the tide and pushed back the foe.

Most of these men, thank God, are coming back to us, but some of them sleep in France. All honor to them and to the brave and noble dead of our allies. "They found their lives by losing them, they forgot themselves but they saved the world."

Toward the men who are returning, we feel a deep sense of obligation; they laid aside all the shams of life and dealt only with its realities. They learned all that sacrifice and suffering could teach; they understand the real meaning of fellowship and these men have today a vision of better things, a vision of a happier home, a cleaner city, a better State, a greater Nation. They have been fighting for democracy but we will never have a real democracy in this country, that democracy of which we caught just a glimpse during the war when we were brought together by a common danger and by a common sympathy, until we once more continuously work together for the good of our community; until we learn to reverence, not the aristocracy of birth and wealth and position but only the aristocracy of service; until we can assure to every human being in our great Republic, equal opportunity for health, for education, for work, for decent living, for love, for happiness.

These men will look to us to help them realize their vision. Shall we fail them? The Community Councils of Illinois offer a method for this democratic experiment. Let us try it.

ON THE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF ILLINOIS SINCE THE CIVIL WAR.

[Dean Eugene Davenport, College of Agriculture, University of Illinois.]

There are four rather well-defined stages in the development of a country such as this. First come the explorers led on by the spirit of adventure, the missionaries interested in converting the primitive races, and the traders interested not in the country but in what they can make from the people in trade for their skins and furs.

Following these come the home builders, moving out of older countries to better their conditions, looking not for trade nor indeed for profit but for a place where the family may live and by dint of hard work grow up into independent manhood and womanhood. It was this period which we had reached in Illinois at the opening of the Civil War.

If the country is naturally poor in its resources it will stop about here, but if it is rich in its soil, kindly in its climate, and favorable as to its contour, the time is certain to arrive when the possession of its acres becomes a ruling passion with its inhabitants, and everything is sacrificed for getting land while yet it can be had. This was the passion that overtook our people immediately after the reconstruction, and it characterized the activity in the Mississippi Valley during the last quarter of the last century as it has never characterized any other country on earth. It was then that men and women and little children made almost a religion out of work, not for work's sake as has been erroneously supposed, but in order to get land while yet it could be had. It was then that men sold improved farms farther east and came west to enlarge their holdings. It was then that land rather than money was the ruling passion of most people.

Following this stage comes the period of finished agriculture when money rather than land is the object in farming, and when the best utilization of acres rather than their exploitation is the test of good farming. We are beginning to enter that period now and it is not without profit that we analyze somewhat closely the prominent features that characterize the period just passing; namely, the land-acquiring period in Illinois development, covering roughly the last half century.

When we remember that the total value of farm property in 1860 in the State of Illinois was given as only $500,000,000, it seems that those were days of small things as measured against the valuation of $4,000,000,000 in 1910. But it must not be forgotten that the $500,000,000 valuation of 1860 represented nearly a 300 per cent increase over the ten years preceding. That is to say, things had begun to move somewhat rapidly about this time. There are other evidences that the period from 1850 to 1860 was one of great activity in matters agri-

cultural in all the eastern portion of the Union, and the impetus was strongly felt in the Mississippi Valley in the decade immediately preceding the Civil War.

In 1860 only a little over 50 per cent of the land in Illinois was in farms as against 90 per cent in 1910. The State was producing in 1860 a little over 100,000,000 bushels of corn as against 400,000,000 in 1910. It was producing something over 20,000,000 bushels of wheat, or about two-thirds the present yield. It had approximately 750,000 horses as against 1,750,000 in 1910; 1,500,000 cattle as compared with 2,500,000 fifty years later; and 2,500,000 swine as compared with 4,500,000 in 1910. The value of the domestic animals in the State in 1860 was given as $72,000,000 as against $308,000,000 in 1910, and the farm implements and machinery were valued at $17,000,000 as against $74,000,000 a half century later.

These figures, however, give but an inadequate conception of the changes that have come to the State since its boys in blue went out to fight. The reaper and the mower had but just come into use and were regarded as horse-killing inventions; and hay which was raked together by the new-fangled machinery was considered unfit for a horse to eat. Some of us remember the burning of self-binders immediately after the close of the war by angry mobs of workmen for the reason that such a machine would deprive them of harvest wages. And yet it was the very scarcity of labor that forced the rapid development of American farm machinery.

While the Civil War resulted in a very great industrial development, yet it also marked the period of the beginning of the struggle for land which has lasted until the present day. Every man who had a farm enlarged it if he could, running into debt to do so, or he sold his farm and moved west to acquire more acres and grow up with the new country. It was impossible to work all these acres by hand labor or by such crude machinery as had been in use before the war. Speedily the great question in farming became this: How many horses can one man drive and how many acres can one man farm?

And so the matter went, through the '70's, the '80's and even well into the '90's before anything like high-priced land or a tenant system could be said to have developed in the State. When I first came to Illinois in 1895, land was considered well sold at $75 an acre; within twenty years of that time a considerable amount of the best land of the State had lain untouched at 50 cents because of lack of drainage, and this in the very region where land is selling from $275, $300, to even $400 an acre without regard to improvements.

The struggle of the people for land has been nowhere more pronounced or more significant than in Illinois. While there have been some large holdings, this has not been a State of bonanza farming. Corn has been its ruling crop and live stock its most prominent industry, and the natural combination of the two has led to the development of a kind of farming which means high values in land. While it is not and never has been a range State, yet the cattle industry has always been relatively

large and the movement for high-grade live stock dates from almost exactly the middle of the last century.

The Illinois State Board of Agriculture was founded and held its first show in 1853. It was the result of the activities in the Legislature of Capt. James N. Brown of Grove Park, Sangamon County, who was one of its first and most successful exhibitors. It was about this time that the enthusiasm for the importation of high-class cattle passed from New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Ohio to the prairies of Illinois, and at the first great sale of the Illinois Importing Company in 1857, this same Captain Brown bid off the two-year-old heifer, Rachel II, at the then very unprecedented price of $3,025. The sale as a whole made an average of $1,165, and from this time dates the beginning of high-class live stock for this great State. It is notable too that this importation contained four cattle from the herd of Amos Cruickshank, a Scottish breeder then almost unknown, but whose herd a few years later became the most famous in short-horn history.

It was during the '70's that this enthusiasm for high-class cattle developed strength. The Illinois State Fair, under the management of the Illinois State Board of Agriculture drew to its show ring some of the best animals then bred, and I was told by the late Col. Charles F. Mills that he had personally, as secretary of that body, organized the pedigree associations for one-half the breeds produced in America—showing the extent of the influence exerted at that time by the Illinois State Board of Agriculture. A little later came the Fat-Stock Show in Chicago, which sealed the doom of the four-year-old steer and proved beyond any doubt that the cheapest beef could be made from young animals.

The introduction of our best pasture, the Kentucky blue grass, dates from this same period and owes to these early cattle men the influence which spread it broadcast over the prairies. It came with the cattle from Kentucky, and while the prairies are not the natural home of the blue grass, it after all has no equal for pasture purposes and has developed in this State as in few others.

As the value of land rapidly increased in the '90's, it became economically impossible to produce market cattle in competition with the western range. From then on, feeders were grown in the west and shipped east to be finished on Illinois corn. With this new condition has gone something of the glory of the old-time breeding herds, but even as this is written the range itself is being broken up and the problem of raising our own feeders is returning to the farmers of Illinois.

With the development of the herds of the State and with the increased production of corn, a new shipping center was inevitable. Hitherto Cincinnati had been called "Porkopolis," but the title and the distinction were destined to move to Chicago. Cincinnati was the natural outlet of the Miami Valley, one of the greatest live stock regions of the timberland states, but the prairies were seeking outlets, and Chicago, Kansas City, and Omaha were inevitable choices. Isaac Funk, one of the greatest shippers of cattle and swine in an early day was accustomed to drive from Funk's Grove to Chicago in successive herds,

putting in each bunch as many cattle and pigs as the Chicago slaughter house could handle in a single day.

The Union Stock Yards Company for handling the increased shipments was organized and opened for business in 1865. Nothing shows the extent and the growth of the live stock business in this State as do the records of the receipts of this company for the fifty-three years since its opening, and they are listed here for record, by ten-year periods:

	Cattle.	Calves.	Hogs.	Sheep.
1866	393,007	.....	961,746	207,987
1876	1,096,745	.....	4,190,006	364,095
1886	1,963,900	51,290	6,718,761	1,008,790
1896	2,600,476	138,337	7,659,472	3,590,655
1906	3,329,250	413,269	7,275,063	4,805,449
1918	3,789,922	657,767	8,614,190	4,629,736

It is sufficient for purposes of reading to note that whereas the total receipts of cattle at these yards in 1866 was but 393,000, they amounted in 1918 to over 3,750,000. During the same period hogs had increased in shipment from fewer than 1,000,000 to over 8,500,000, and sheep from 207,000 to over 4,500,000. By this we see, of course, that these great stock yards, in later years particularly, have drawn from far beyond the limits of our own State.

Realizing the value of the old Fat-Stock Show to the live stock of this State and region, this company has for a number of years conducted an annual exposition which is without doubt the greatest live stock show in the world, and from here have come and gone in recent years the very pink of perfection in the breeder's art.

Even a hasty sketch of the agricultural progress of Illinois in the last half century would be exceedingly incomplete without special mention of what this State has done for heavy horses. It has of course had its light horse champions and interests, but in an early day the Norman horse was brought into various sections of this State for farm purposes, and later on it was Mark Dunham of Wayne more than any other single man who was responsible for bringing the best breeding of *la belle France* into the middle west. No enthusiast whom I have ever known was prouder of his achievement than was Dunham of the mark which "Brilliant" put upon the American horse industry, and of Rosa Bonheur's picture of that wonderful animal.

It is evident to the most casual student that the earlier development of the last half century was in acreage, farm machinery, and live stock. It was not until practically the opening of the present century that the State took much interest in the scientific study of the principles underlying agricultural practices or in the education of the young for the profession of farming. It was the current belief in those days that if a man was to have a good herd it must be founded by his grandfather, and that the only way to become a successful farmer was by being to the manner born and by associating long and intimately with those who succeeded. It was the worship of the ancients over again, and while there were veritable giants in those days in matters agricultural, it is also the fact that a great many of the things they assiduously believed were at the same time untrue. The last generation has been somewhat busy in the attempt to separate tradition from truth and to learn what are the underlying principles of successful farming.

Accordingly the University of Illinois has been authorized, instructed, and endowed to conduct investigations along certain prominent lines, particularly in the feeding and breeding of animals, the control of diseases in fruits and vegetables, and in such methods of production as shall prove most economical and effective. For example, it used to be supposed that deep cultivation is the *sine qua non* of good farming. Experimentation has shown, however, that the deeper corn is cultivated the more the roots are cut off and the more the crop suffers. It had been said that corn was cultivated in order to preserve moisture, but scientific methods have shown that it is done mainly in order to kill weeds. Plants are now bred as are animals, and there is no more significant work done in the State than is that of the Funk Brothers' Seed Company, which, like the Vilmorins of France, is interested not only in dealing in seeds but in producing the best varieties.

Perhaps the most notable single piece of work undertaken in the State of Illinois for the betterment of agriculture is the soil survey, whereby each separate type of land of which the State is possessed is not only located as to its boundaries and mapped accordingly, but also studied in the laboratories and in the field as to its physical and chemical qualities, so that when the map is published each man may know how many and what are the distinctive types of soil on the land he occupies and what are the treatments that should be employed. The forty experimental fields upon the various types of soil scattered over the State each under all possible combinations of fertilizer treatment constitute by far the most extensive and exhaustive inquiry into the character of land that is to be found anywhere on earth.

Such a sketch of agricultural progress would be entirely incomplete without a word upon the strictly educational side. Not only has the Agricultural College of the State developed from a half dozen students in 1890 to twelve hundred and fifty at the opening of the war, but there are now more than forty high schools in the State organized to do work under the Smith-Hughes Act. A definite department is established in the high school under the charge of its own instructor, usually employed for twelve months and always teaching under the project system. It is not too much to expect that another generation of careful research and the systematic training of the young will produce agricultural results in this State that will be no discredit to the record of the great men who have gone before. From now on our progress will be marked not by the individual achievements of a few phenomenal men, but by the systematic procedure of the citizens of the State.

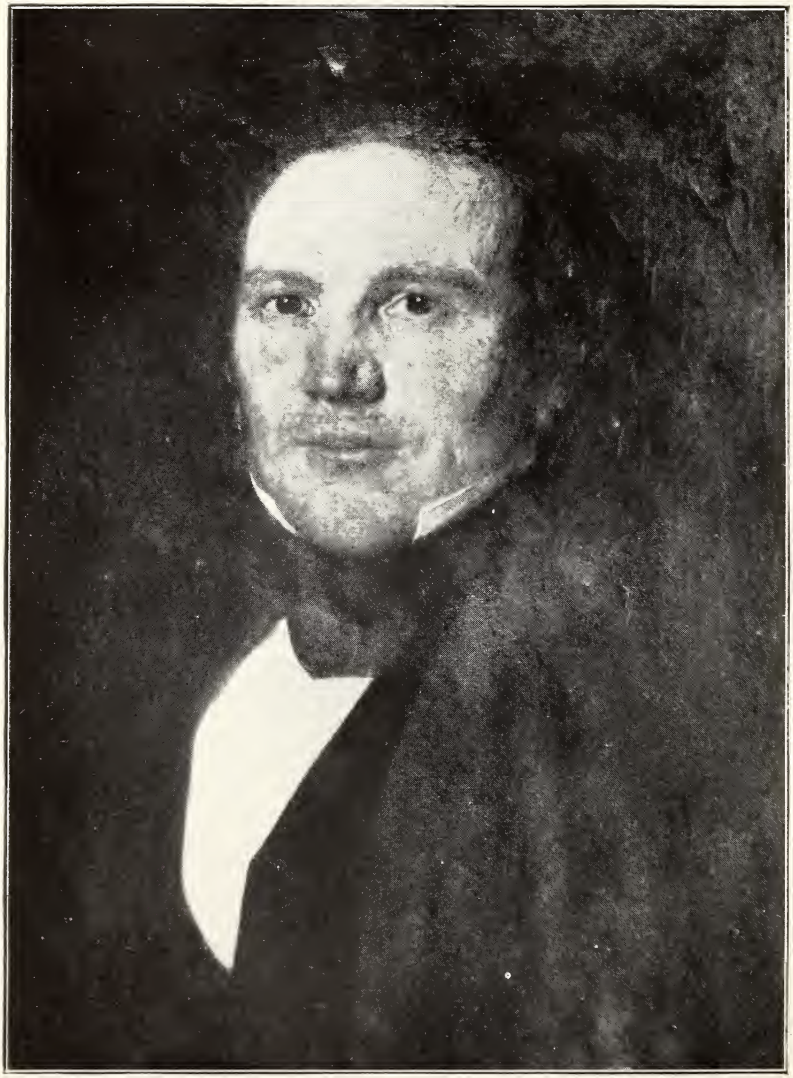
Illinois has developed within the last generation one of the best farmers' institute systems of any state in the Union. It is under the direction of a body of farmers recognized by the Legislature as the State Farmers' Institute. The meetings held under the auspices of this body of representative farmers, whether of State or local character, afford a steady forum for the discussion of the many questions that constantly arise touching the interests of agriculture. The extent to which such a forum can operate as a safety valve and a balance wheel both for public opinion and for the farmers' state of mind is beyond computation.

The State is now served by a most efficient agricultural press by no means confined to the boundaries of this particular commonwealth yet serving its distinctive interests exceptionally well. These journals constitute the great avenue for the exchange of ideas, experiences, and practices back and forth between the farmers of this State and other states and between the practices of the farm and the findings of the various scientific bodies scattered over the world.

Perhaps the most distinctive single item of progress made in Illinois in the last half century lies in the principle now well recognized that the farmers themselves through their own organizations assume the responsibility of leadership in all matters of agricultural progress. The farmers in this State are neither led nor driven. They are themselves a forward-looking body of men with a well recognized objective, the development of the agricultural resources of the State. They are therefore regarded as the special sponsors of agricultural education and research, whatever may be the particular machinery devised for the detailed management of schools and experiment stations.

Pursuant to this general principle the development of the so-called extension work in this State is going forward under the direction of county farm bureaus which are self-directing agricultural associations projecting their affairs especially along business lines. Over sixty of the counties of the State are now so organized, and the creation of the Illinois Agricultural Association for the further development of agriculture as a cooperative enterprise, particularly in selling, was so logical as to be inevitable.

It is not too much to say that since the Civil War, agriculture has developed from the old self-sufficing system of pioneer days to that stage where it is recognized in its full meaning, both as a productive industry to those engaged therein and as a significant economic factor in the social fabric of the State. The idea of a permanent agriculture is definitely fixed in the minds of nearly all the progressive farmers of Illinois, whereby the fertility of the lands shall be maintained and not mined out as the generations pass. To that determination we are now beginning to add the idea of a finished agriculture, by which is meant not necessarily intensive farming but rather systems of farming which shall be more diversified than heretofore and which shall recognize more completely the peculiar demands of the consuming public and the particular resources of the various localities.



Joseph Duncan

THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF JOSEPH DUNCAN, GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS, 1834-1838.

[By Elizabeth Duncan Putnam.]

PREFACE.

The request of the Illinois State Historical Society, in 1919, for a sketch of Governor Joseph Duncan led me to search through the papers preserved by the family to see if there was any new material that would throw light on the life of one of the pioneers of Illinois. The sketch prepared at that time for the annual meeting has since grown, by the acquisition of new material found in the Library of Congress and other libraries, into the present more extended life.

His daughter, Mrs. Julia Duncan Kirby, wrote a biographical sketch of Joseph Duncan for the Jacksonville Historical Society in 1885, containing many reminiscences of Mrs. Duncan and of her friends and, quoting, nearly in full, the interesting diary kept by Mr. Duncan while he was in congress.[1] Mr. E. W. Blatchford, an old family friend, wrote a brief sketch in 1905 for the Chicago Historical Society.

Aside from these two sketches, there has been no life written of Governor Duncan. Most of the histories of Illinois are influenced in their estimation of him by the opinion given by Thomas Ford in his history of Illinois written in 1847. As Ford was a political opponent of Governor Duncan and party feeling ran high at that time, he naturally wrote from a prejudiced point of view. Unfortunately Mr. Duncan's papers have suffered irreparable loss, as the most important ones were burned in the Chicago fire of 1871 and others in our home fire in Davenport in 1887.

There are still preserved[2] a few family letters, many expense accounts from Kentucky and Illinois; diaries[3] of Governor and Mrs. Duncan; an interesting note book of Governor Duncan's; a brief anonymous life addressed to "Governor Joseph Duncan, Jacksonville, Illinois," and dated 1840, obviously an original document;[4] and finally there are a few political hand bills and cartoons. Another note book, evidently for use in the campaign of 1842 with clippings and notes, is in the Library of the University of Illinois.

I have consulted the Journals of the House of Representatives and the Senate of Illinois and the Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States for the records of his political life and the news-

[1] Chicago: Fergus Printing Co. 1888.

[2] At present deposited in the Historical Library of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, Davenport, Iowa.

[3] The diary of Governor Duncan kept while he was in Congress in 1829 is printed in the appendix.

[4] It was printed in the Illinoisan, Jan. 19, 1844, four days after the death of Governor Duncan.

papers of the time for contemporary opinion. Use has been made of Mrs. Duncan's reminiscences and diaries to give an account of a journey west in 1828 and a picture of their life later in Jacksonville.

Many traditions have come down in the family but I have only used those that seem to help in drawing the portrait from out of the shadows of a century ago of this pioneer of Illinois, a strong man of action, of independent opinion, with a keen sense of law and right, modest and unassuming. Tradition says that he had great social charm, which is borne out by the letters that describe the cordial reception he received whenever he went east. The same Scotch honesty and allegiance to duty and principle which was shown as a boy of eighteen in his providing for his widowed mother and younger brothers and sister before he left home in the war of 1812, dominated his ideals and public acts in his later career as soldier, state senator, congressman and governor.

I am indebted to Prof. A. M. Schlesinger and to Prof. Theodore Calvin Pease for valuable suggestions, to Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber of the Illinois State Historical Society and to Miss Caroline McIlvaine of the Chicago Historical Society for assistance in obtaining material, and to Miss Ruth Putnam for criticism and encouragement. My brother Edward K. Putnam has aided me in the arrangement of the materials and the review of the political speeches of Governor Duncan.

Elizabeth Duncan Putnam.

Davenport, Iowa.
January 15, 1921.

CHAPTER I.

Early Life: War of 1812: Removal to Illinois.

Joseph Duncan was descended on both sides from Scotch and Scotch-Irish ancestry. The family first settled in Virginia, from there Major Joseph Duncan went to Kentucky in the early days but returned to Virginia to marry Anna Maria McLaughlin of Cumberland Valley, and in 1790 the family moved to Paris, Bourbon County, Kentucky. Here Joseph was born on February 22, 1794, the third son.

The Duncan house is still standing in Paris, a substantial stone house, with an interesting entrance doorway and panelling in the rooms. A lease of 1815 describes it as "the old stone house on the square with kitchen, billiard-room, smoke house, lower stables, etc., and two partitions to be run across the ball room."

In 1806 Major Duncan died. There was apparently a great deal of property but much confusion in affairs. Mrs. Duncan married in 1809 Captain Benjamin Moore, of the regular army. He lived but two years, dying in 1811. One son, Duncan Moore, was born of this marriage.

Joseph was but twelve years old when his own father died. The two older sons had been sent, Matthew to Yale and James to Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky, but there was probably no ready money to send Joseph to college. He assumed the responsibilities of the family, paying bills and arranging financially for his mother. He was appointed guardian to his two younger brothers and sister and later paid for at least part of their education. All through his life he manifested an interest in education, probably intensified by the lack of college training

in his own life. In his informal correspondence he was a poor speller, as were many of the men of his time.

From his father and step-father Joseph naturally was interested in military affairs. War with England was not declared until June 18th, 1812, but a month beforehand, on May 12th, we find Joseph Duncan had paid to F. Loring, Paris, Kentucky:

To making undress coat	$10.00
To 5½ yards of silver braid	2.75
To making a Cockade	.75
To making 2 pair pantaloons and 2 vests	1.00
To finding pading and thread	.50
To 1 hank of white silk	.12½
	$15.12½

He entered the army as an Ensign in the 17th U. S. Infantry and remained in service throughout the war.

He at once began securing recruits. As he was leaving to join the northern army in 1813, he gives the following note,—"The above bill of eight pounds and eleven shillings, I am bound to pay unless my mother pays it. Kelly and Brant may deduct it out of the money I now leave in their hands, and should she apply for any other articles in their store they will let her have them and charge them to her account." It is worth note that the credit and word of an eighteen year old boy carried sufficient weight to take care of the family.

There is no record where Joseph Duncan was the first year of the war. On June 13th, 1813, he passed Kaskaskia on the Mississippi, with the 17th Regiment of U. S. Infantry, on his way to St. Louis, Missouri Territory, as is shown by the letter from his brother, Matthew Duncan, who tried to overtake the boats at Little Rock Ferry. On August 2nd, 1813, Duncan was at the defence of Fort Stephenson, near Sandusky, Ohio. A copy of a letter written by Joseph Duncan and describing the attack has been preserved. It was written many years later in response to inquiries from Gen. C. F. Mercer, but it gives a graphic and detailed description of the battle.

WASHINGTON CITY, *March 25, 1834.*

DEAR SIR:

Your letter of the 20th has been received and I most cheerfully comply with your request in giving such an account of the transactions at Sandusky as my memory at this late period and my time will enable me to do.

About the 20th of July, 1813, General Harrison, then at Lower Sandusky, hearing that the British Army had crossed Lake Erie to Fort Meigs, being about five thousand strong, immediately changed his headquarters to Seneca, seven or eight miles up the Sandusky River, where he assembled his forces, leaving Major Croghan with about 150 men to defend Fort Stephenson, with an understanding or an order, as it was understood by me at the time, that the Fort then in a weak and wretched condition, was to be abandoned should the enemy advance with artillery, but if not, to be defended to the last extremity.

Harrison with his force, then small, had scarcely left us before Croghan commenced putting the fort, which was only a stockading of small round logs and a few log storehouses, in a proper state of defence, in which he evinced great judgment and the most untiring perseverance.

During the ten or twelve days that intervened between the time that General Harrison left us and the appearance of the enemy, a ditch was dug four feet deep and six feet wide entirely around the Fort outside of the stockading—the ground for two hundred yards round the fort was cleared of timber and brush and many other preparations made for the enemy.

About this time General Harrison received information that the enemy had raised the siege of Fort Meigs and had started in the direction of Sandusky and Camp Seneca. On receiving this intelligence he determined to retreat from his position, and immediately sent an express to Fort Stephenson, which arrived about sunrise, ordering Major Croghan to burn the fort with all the munitions and stores and retreat without delay to Headquarters, giving also some precautionary instructions about the route, etc.

On receiving this order, Croghan instantly placed it in the hands of the officers, who were all present, and required them to consider it and express an opinion as to the propriety of obeying or disobeying it. The Board was formed and on putting the question, beginning as is usual with the youngest officer, [Duncan] it was ascertained that a majority of us was for disobeying the order. Croghan returned to the room and being informed of our decision remarked, "I am glad of it, I had resolved to disobey it at all hazards," and immediately dispatched an express to General Harrison giving him that information. Immediately on the arrival of this express General Harrison dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Ball with his squadron of Dragoons, with orders to arrest Croghan, bring him to Headquarters (which was done) and sent another officer to take his command. By this time, in consequence of our not arriving agreeably to his expectations and orders, the General abandoned all idea of a retreat, although his munitions and stores were all piled up ready to be set on fire as soon as Croghan should reach Seneca and it is doubted that if Croghan had arrived according to orders, General Harrison would have retreated instantly, leaving the whole Frontier, our fleet at Erie and the boats and stores at Cleveland, (the destruction of which was the object of the invasion and movement down the Lake) at the mercy of the enemy.

After being detained one night, Croghan was returned to Sandusky and reinstated in his command—an occasion which gave indescriable joy to the officers and soldiers in the Fort, and which could only be equaled in intensity of feeling by the chagrin and mortification felt at his arrest. Especially was this event pleasing to those officers who had sustained him in disobeying the order, resolved as they were, when he was arrested, to share his fate, be it good or evil.

Soon after his return, the enemy, so long expected, made his appearance and demanded a surrender. Croghan answered by directing Ensign Ship to assure General Proctor that he would be blown to Hell first.

I need hardly say after what has been related that their appearance, relieving us from our long suspense, was hailed with seeming joy by the Major, and most, if not by all, of his command.

The excitement produced by what had occurred, and his return just in time to meet the enemy, inspired his command with an enthusiasm rarely, if ever, surpassed, and which alone renders man invincible.

The Fort was forthwith besieged, cannonaded and bombarded from the Gun Boats, and the batteries on land for nearly forty hours, without cessation—during all which time every officer and soldier appeared to be animated by the cool and manly bearing of their commander.

I well remember his expression at the first sound of the bugle given by the enemy as a signal for the charge upon the works. We were sitting together—he sprang upon his feet, saying—"Duncan, every man to his post, for in ten minutes they will attempt to take us by storm. Recollect, when you hear my voice crying relief come to me with all the men that can be spared from your part of the line." He instantly passed up the line repeating the order to every officer, and had scarcely got the men in place, before the whole British Army, divided into three columns marched upon the Fort, and made a desperate assault, continuing it for near an hour, when they were repulsed with a loss of killed and wounded, estimated at the time to near double the number in the Fort, and is stated by the English writers to be about ninety.

During the engagement I saw Croghan often and witnessed with delight his intrepid and gallant conduct, which I firmly believe has never been surpassed at any time or on any occasion.

The sagacity displayed in arranging the cannon so as to open a masked embrasure to rake the enemy in the ditch at the point evidently selected by them for the breach, in placing logs on pins near the top of the pickets which could be tilted off by one man, and being from 20 to 30 feet long, of heavy timber, swept everything before them, his tact in placing bags of sand against the pickets wherever the enemy attempted to make a breach with their cannon, by which means each point of attack grew stronger from the moment it was assailed,—are worthy of any General of any age.

You are right, Sir, in my judgment, in saying that the Government has not done justice to Colonel Croghan for his conduct in that affair, which is without parallel in the Military annals of our Country.

As to myself, having acted but a very subordinate part, I never did, and do not now, set up for any claim for distinction. To know that I did my duty to my Country, though not hardened into manhood, was then and is now, enough for me. But of him I feel no delicacy in saying that great injustice has been done to him, in being overlooked by the Government, and by the erroneous statements of historians.

McAfee, the historian of the late War, and Dawson, the Biographer of General Harrison, have studiously kept out of view that the object of the invasion was the destruction of our ships under Commodore Perry at Presque Isle, and the boats and stores at Cleveland. These were looked upon with great solicitude by the British—were reconnoitred, and on one or two occasions were attempted to be destroyed by landing the small force on board of their fleet. They have also failed to account for the movement of the whole British forces down the Lake in the direcion of Cleveland and Erie, before their defeat, at Sandusky, which was attacked to gratify their Indian allies who demanded the scalps and plunder of the place. They have kept out of view the fact that General Harrison had determined to retreat to the interior after having burnt all the supplies which he had collected—that he ordered Major Croghan to abandon and burn Fort Stephenson—that his refusal to obey, and failure to arrive at Headquarters, prevented this retreat and consequent destruction of our Fleet, millions of public stores, and exposure of five hundred miles of frontier to the combined enemy.

Both have stated that General Harrison never doubted that Major Croghan would be able to repulse an enmy of near two thousand, with one hundred and twenty men (his effective force on the day of battle), one six pounder, with ammunition for only seven shots and about forty rounds for the small arms; when the fact was notorious that General Harrison was heard to say during the siege, when the firing could be heard in his camp, speaking of Croghan, "the blood be on his own head. I wash my hands of it," not doubting for a moment, nor did any one with him, that the Garrison would be cut off.

With great respect,
Your obdt. Servant,
JOSEPH DUNCAN.

Gen. C. F. Mercer.

Congress passed a resolution on June 18, 1834 "Presenting a gold medal to George Croghan and a sword to each of the officers under his command for their gallantry and good conduct in the Defence of Fort Stephenson in 1813."

The young Kentuckian remained in the army throughout the war. August 10, 1814, there is an order from "Colonel Tod from Chillicothe to Lieutenant Duncan for recruiting service, for the 17th Infantry, at Lexington, Kentucky."

The following winter however, he was in the north, apparently on scouting duty. By an order dated Fort Shelby, November 4th, 1814, signed Harrison H. Hickman, Captain 17th Infantry, Lieutenant Duncan was placed in command of a detachment consisting of three sergeants, three corporals and forty privates. This detachment seems to have been

sent up close to the enemy in Canada. On January 7, 1815, Lieutenant Duncan was ordered to cross the river and eight days later, January 15, Captain Hickman sent this express letter from Detroit to "Lt. Jos. Duncan, Commanding Detachment, Fort Thrasher."

"I have this moment received yours of the 10th by express. Detain the two men until you bring them or have an opportunity of sending them down. I need not request you to use every exertion to procure information of the positions and movements of the enemy. When you write again be so good as to give me what information you can collect in regard to the quantity of wheat and flour there may remain in the river and the prospect of its transportation to this place. Our papers by the last mail brought no news of importance, otherwise I would have sent you some. My respects to Mr. Stewart.

Should any of your men meet with eight Indians who will show them my name written on a piece of paper—they will let them pass without any questions. *Breath not a whisper of this to a living mortal, except to the leader of such scouting parties as you may send out and let that leader be such a man as will keep the secret.*"

The Treaty of Peace was signed at Ghent on December 14th, 1814, and the last battle of the war was fought at New Orleans on 8th of January, 1815, and still this letter says "there was no news of importance" at Detroit on January 15th, 1815!

There are traditions of other feats in the wilderness—of crossing Lake Erie in an open yawl during a winter storm—of being the bearer of dispatches—of swimming his horse across a swollen river where the Indian guide refused to follow—of coming upon a block house late at night and instead of finding friends, to be greeted with a savage yell—of his presence of mind in throwing coin upon the hearth and while the Indians were scrambling for it, making his escape.

In August, 1815, Joseph was appointed guardian for his younger brothers and sister and on September 13, 1815, the court approved a division of the estate of the father, Major Joseph Duncan. There is mention of slaves but none in Joseph's portion. Checks show that the son was at Paris then, as he was in the summer of 1816, when his report as guardian to his younger brothers and sister was recorded. There are on record other documents showing that he acted as "attorney" for his older brothers as well as "guardian" for the younger children, in whose education he took a special interest.

There is among the family papers a curious old statement of "Mr. Joseph Duncan in acct. with Allen & Thomas, drs.," running from Aug. 14, 1815, to June 28, 1816, which shows that Joseph was looking after the needs of his mother, brothers and sister. For his mother there is the purchase, among other things, of 6 yards of calico for 9 shillings. There is 5 yards cotton cloth and a "Posam hat" for Thomas, the latter costing £1.10.0. For John there is 5½ yards "long cloth" and pumps. For James a vest and leather gloves. There are many entries "per sister." She had 5 yards of "long cloth, a "beaver hat draped" (£3), several pairs of shoes, stockings, gloves, "ribbans" on frequent occasions, a pencil, letter paper, a "bowl for holding paints," etc. There are not many items for Joseph himself, but he purchases a pair of beaver gloves, a pen knife, powder flask, ½ pound of powder, padlock, and wafers. The only items of food are such things as were not grown in Kentucky—an occasional ¼ pound of tea or 2 lbs. of sugar, once ½ lb. of ginger, and once

3 shillings for raisins. Soap was probably made at home but one cake was bought for 9d. There is one entry for "½ doz. Sigars per Thomas, 9 shillings." There are several entries for buttons, needles, pins and thread. Cash was sometimes paid on account and sometimes advanced by Allen and Thomas to members of the family, as: "Cash for Miss Polly Anne 1/6, ditto for John, 6/–" or "Cash per John for Mother $5.00, £1.10.0." Under March 11, 1816, are the following entries:

1816
Mch 11, Cash lent you $100.00 in Feby..... 39. 0.0
" Cash paid Bayler for your Taxes $8.19..... 2. 9.1½
" Cash pd. ditto for your Mother's Taxes $22.4..... 4.12.3

These last items were taken care of in April when Joseph Duncan gave a check for $130.23.

January 19th, 1817, he was at Detroit, Michigan Territory, and again in the summer of 1817 was at Paris, seeing a brother off to school as the following letter from his brother Thomas shows. It was written from Washington, D. C.

* * * "I paid my tuition with the money you gave me when I left Kentucky. I have read the Odes of Horace and made some progress in Greek, Witherspoon on Moral Philosophy, etc. Sold my horse for $20, $15 of which I have not, nor do I expect to get at least for sometime, as the student to whom I sold him, has since been expelled and is, I believe, destitute of money at present." * * *

There has come to light a curious U. S. government bond that proves that Joseph was at this time a real Kentuckian, as on May 10, 1817, "Joseph Duncan and Tandy Allen and Ann Duncan" gave a $50 bond to the United States to pay "on the 24th of May next to the collector of revenue for the 4th collection district of Kentucky the sum of twenty dollars and fifty-two cents, on a still of the capacity of 114 gallons * * * to be employed in distilling spirits from domestic materials." It was later in life, when living in Illinois, that he became an ardent supporter of the temperance cause, giving to it half his salary, $500, when governor.

Joseph Duncan, with the same pioneer spirit as his ancestors, moved from Kentucky to Illinois in 1818. He had seen the prairies of Illinois while in the army in the war of 1812 and no doubt had been attracted by their future possibilities.

His eldest brother Matthew Duncan had moved from Russelville, Kentucky, where he had edited a paper, "The Mirror," to Kaskaskia on the Mississippi River in Illinois. Through Ninian Edwards, formerly a lawyer in Russelville, Matthew secured the printing of the first edition of the Illinois Territorial Laws in 1813. He moved his press to Kaskaskia in 1814 and began the Illinois Herald, the first newspaper published in Illinóis. In December, 1814, he issued the first pamphlet published in Illinois and in June, 1815, the first book, Volume I Pope's Digest.

On November 19th, 1819, there is a note from Joseph to Matthew Duncan for the sum of ten thousand dollars. "I have this day purchased from Matthew Duncan an equal interest in the mill upon the outlet of the big lake, together with an equal interest in 209 acres [in Jackson County, Illinois]." In September, 1820, he was able to pay

$1,822 on this note and eventually the note was receipted in full but with no date. This is among the first records of his purchases of property. He began to buy land in many counties of the State. The family connections were around Kaskaskia but later he owned land in the northern part of the State, including a tract in what is now Chicago.

The family moved from Paris, Kentucky, to Brownsville, called Fountain Bluffs, Jackson County, Illinois, sometime before 1820. About this time Joseph began an interesting note book[1] that for quaintness might be printed entire. Beginning with quotations from Seneca, Young, Proverbs, he continues with a "Memorandum of Boats of all kinds that pass my house on the Mississippi going up and down in 1824." There are 136 entries, from January 2, to August 5, 1824. There is a "cure for rheumatism—" "Law of Louisiana for inspecting Beef and Pork 1826," "Potatoes to be planted the second week in June"—"Policy of the Jackson Party—." Notes for campaign speeches in 1842 (when he ran the second time for Governor)—question of the standing army—list of land owned by him in various counties in Illinois, etc.

There is an interesting letter from his younger brother Thomas, written on November 28, 1820, from Russelville, Kentucky, to his mother, "care of Maj. Jo. Duncan" in Brownsville, Illinois, defending Joseph from an unjust attack.

"I have this moment heard that Joseph has been charged with defrauding my father's estate and with reducing the family to penury. I regret the occasion but I glory in the opportunity of doing justice to a man, whose unbending integrity, no temptation could seduce and whose disinterested generosity to yourself and every member of our family imposes claims not to be forgotten, bare remembrance of which excites feelings which I cannot express. At the tender age of 15 or 16 he attracted the notice and admiration of all who knew him by the correctness of his deportment and the skill and assiduity he displayed in the management of an estate, which by the premature death of my father, was left in a state of confusion and complexity. At the commencement of the war he took his station among the defenders of his country's rights. But his patriotism did not make him forgetful of his widowed mother and his little orphan brothers and sister; without funds in his hands belonging to the estate, he had even at this early period of his life, acquired a reputation which enabled him upon his own responsibility to obtain such conveniences as were necessary for the comfort of the family in his absence. To trace him through the variety of scenes that were exhibited from that to the present period—and in which he has uniformily acted the same magnanimous part, would greatly exceed the limits of a letter. But there is one observation which I would make because it not only acquits him of taking any advantage but shows beyond the power of contradiction that he acted disinterestedly. In 1814 the estate was divided by persons appointed by the court for that purpose—Joseph was selected by each of the infant heirs as their guardian. The rent of my part of the estate was nothing like enough to defray my expenses at school even in Kentucky, yet he sent me to Pennsylvania to college and defrayed my expenses while there. The part of the estate alloted me is still mine and never was of any benefit to him, but to the contrary has been a trouble and I believe an expense to him. His high standing in this state cannot be affected by the foul aspertions of those from another quarter."

I have been interested in the journeys of Joseph Duncan and finally made as complete a record as addresses to letters, old bills, military orders, etc., could give. Considering that all these journeys were made on horseback or boat, it shows indefatigable energy. We are apt to think

[1] Deposited in the Historical Library of the Davenport Academy of Sciences.

of the picturesqueness of this period, forgetting the hardships entailed. The majority of the pioneers died young. My mother was born in 1832 but even in her youth, she said the prevalence of chills and fever and the almost daily dose of quinine were taken as a matter of course. Out of their family of ten children but three survived to maturity.

Joseph Duncan had spent most of his life on the frontier and knew the hardships of the pioneer. Later when in Congress Mr. Duncan constantly plead the cause of the settler of small means. The pioneers were "brave, hardy, enterprising" men "possessing an ardent love of liberty, freedom and independence," who "endured privations and hardships" giving up "all the comforts of society," overcoming "difficulties which most gentlemen in Congress know nothing about," and with "no other view in settling than to secure an independent home for their families." We feel he was speaking of a subject of which he knew first hand.

During these years Duncan was studying the state and the people and unconsciously laying the foundations for the popularity that over and over again elected him to office. At this period it was the man, and not the party, that was elected.

He must have taken an active part in the militia as in October 1822 his uncle, Robert T. McLaughlin, asks him to appoint Colonel Ewing of Vandalia "to the place you held previous to your election as Major General of Militia."

Apparently he entered politics early. We know that he was Justice of the Peace in Jackson County from 1821 till 1823.[1] He had many and diverse interests, even appearing as a director and later president of the Brownsville Branch Bank.[2] Of his resignation from this last position, the Illinois Intelligencer of November 17, 1824, says: "Joseph Duncan, the Senator from Jackson County, has resigned his office of President and Director in the Branch Bank at Brownsville. It is perfectly in character for this gentleman, when on the eve of taking his seat in the councils of his adopted state, to divest himself of everything which might even be supposed to give a bias to his judgment on subjects which came officially before him." Mr. Duncan had already had a varied experience, therefore, when in the summer of 1824 he ran for the State Senate.

CHAPTER II.

Member of Illinois State Senate.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL BILL.

On November 15, 1824, the Illinois State Legislature convened at Vandalia. A year before the town was the scene of an intoxicated pro-slavery mob, who had rioted through the village, with their cries of "Convention or death." Their insults to Governor Coles, the quiet, determined Virginian, who had come to Illinois to free his slaves, and to his valiant band of anti-slavery men, had turned the tide of public opinion.

[1] Copies of warrants in note book beginning June 21, 1821, and continuing to February 23, 1823.

[2] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. p. 130-132 (Governors' Letter-books, Vol. I).

Ford says, "The people had been so long under the influence of an intense excitement that they required rest."[1]

The recent election of August, 1824, had brought many new men, with new views to the Legislature. We can picture the primitive village —the burnt State House repaired by the citizens, the members arriving on horseback, with their saddle bags, bringing the news from the north and from the south. Among them was Joseph Duncan, from "the county of Jackson." He was thirty years old at this time. He had won distinction in the war of 1812; had settled in Illinois from Kentucky, in 1818; Justice of the Peace in Jackson County from 1821 till 1823; Major General of Militia, and elected to the State Senate in August, 1824.

Judging from the portrait, painted some years later, he must have been a striking man in his youth. Erect, with dark eyes, that look directly at you out of the old portrait, high cheek bones and exceedingly sweet expression on the firm lips, the resourceful face of a man of affairs, who had lived all his life in the open; independent and fearless in his views. These Scotch characteristics were tempered by a genial expression and an optimistic point of view. "He was a man of genteel, affable and manly deportment; with a person remarkably well adapted to win the esteem and affection of his fellow citizens. * * * He had a sound judgment, a firm confidence in his own convictions of right, and a moral courage in adhering to his convictions, which is rarely met with."[2]

The brief anonymous life of the Governor written in 1840 gives this sketch of his appearance and character:

Governor Duncan in person is a large man, considerable above the ordinary size, his features are strong, and manly, crowned by a high intellectual forehead, and large black eyes, expressive and penetrating, speaking the language of the heart. To a person thus prepossessing is united a mind imbued with rich and practical knowledge. As a speaker he is perspicuous, plain and forcible, fixing the attention more by his knowledge of the subject than by any attention to the graces of oratory. His conversation is interesting and replete [with] apt and characteristic anecdotes.[3]

Mr. Duncan at once took an active part in the business of the Senate. One of his first votes was for Birkbeck as Secretary of State. This vote indicates his independence and belief in the best man for the place irrespective of party, a policy he carried consistently through life. Birkbeck was a strong anti-convention and anti-slavery man, a warm friend of Governor Coles. In the Senate on January 14, 1825, Duncan moved that the nomination of Morris Birkbeck be confirmed and, undiscouraged by defeat, the following day offered a resolution "that Morris Birkbeck, Esq., late Secretary of State, has discharged all the duties of that office with ability and strict fidelity." He ranged himself on the side of the man, who, next to Governor Coles, did more than any one else to save Illinois from becoming a slave State.[4] Sometime afterward Duncan said. "I came to Vandalia with every prejudice against Mr. Birkbeck as Secretary of State but when I looked into the office and saw the order and management, especially when contrasted with the previous confusion, my opinion was completely changed."[5]

[1] Ford, History of Illinois, page 55.
[2] Ford, History of Illinois, page 169.
[3] Anonymous life, 1840, among family papers.
[4] Illinois State Journal, 1825-1826.
[5] Sketch of Governor Coles by E. B. Washburn, page 197.

Mr. Duncan was made Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, "to draft, arrange and compile a complete militia law,"[1] and also Chairman on the Committee on Seminary Lands. The following recommendation contained in Governor Cole's Message of November 15, 1824, had been referred to this committee: "The United States has made liberal provisions, through grants of lands, for the establishment of township schools and a university. Is it not our duty to make provisions for the establishment of local schools throughout the State?"

This recommendation led to the introduction and enactment of a public school bill remarkable for its time. Mr. Francis G. Blair, Superintendent Department of Public Instruction, State of Illinois, has described the passage:

"This recommendation fell upon more willing and intelligent ears. Fortunately for the cause of public education and for the purpose of Governor Coles there had come to the Senate a man from Jackson County by the name of Duncan. He proved himself to be a patriot and a broadminded statesman in his attitude toward all the large questions which came before the General Assembly. He was chairman of the Committee on Seminary Lands, the only committee which had to do with educational questions.

This recommendation of the Governor was referred to that committee and on the first day of December a bill that provided for the establishment of a wide flung system of free common schools was reported out of that committee with the recommendation that it pass. Evidently some of the more conservative members of the Senate were alarmed by the provisions of this bill for the Senate resolved itself into a committee of the whole to discuss its provisions. Several amendments were offered some of them weakening and some of them strengthening the general purpose of the bill. When the committee arose and reported the bill with amendments back to the Senate, Senator Duncan moved that the bill with amendments be re-referred to his committee in order that the amendments might be written into the bill so as to make it harmonious.

Within forty-eight hours the bill was reported back to the Senate with the amendments so incorporated as to strengthen in every instance the main purpose of the bill. On the 14th day of December, just two days less than a month after the recommendation, the bill passed the Senate. It moved a little more slowly through the House but on the 25th day of January, 1825, just a little over two months after Governor Coles had made his recommendation, the bill passed the House, was signed by the Governor and became a law.

And that law providing for the establishment of free common schools throughout the State was from twenty-five to fifty years in advance of any school enactment in any of the commonwealths of the Union. It not only provided that these districts when formed should levy a tax for the maintenance of the school, a thing which was resisted bitterly in every commonwealth, but it went still farther and provided that out of every $100 which came into the State treasury two dollars should be set aside for a fund to encourage the establishment and maintenance of these common free schools throughout the State."[2]

The preamble of this bill as introduced by Mr. Duncan reads as follows:

"To enjoy our rights and liberties, we must understand them; their security and protection ought to be the first object of a free people; and it is a well established fact that no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which was not both virtuous and enlightened; and believing that the advancement of literature always has been, and ever will be the means of developing more fully the rights of man, that the

[1] Senate Journal. 1824.

[2] Francis G. Blair: Governor Cole's Contribution to Freedom and Education in Illinois, in Journal of Proceedings 64th Annual Meeting, Illinois State Teachers' Association, 1917, pages 87, 88.

mind of every citizen in a republic, is the common property of society, and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness; it is therefore considered the peculiar duty of a free government, like ours, to encourage and extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole."

The preamble reflects the general type of the famous Ordinance of the Northwest Territory, of 1787:

"Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Mr. Blair, in the article quoted from, suggests that there are "strong suggestions" that Governor Coles " had much to do" with the writing of the law, adding that its preamble "bears internal evidence of the magic touch of his pen." If Coles was the author, he allowed it to pass with a discrimination against the blacks. But is there any reason why Duncan should not have written the bill? Throughout his whole life, as a youth in Kentucky, as a young man in Illinois, as State Senator, Congressman and Governor, he was always interested in the question of education.

Mr. Duncan came of a family who appreciated the advantages of education but on account of his father's death, the war of 1812, and later assuming the responsibilities of the family, he missed the education at Yale and Transylvania that his elder brothers had received and, which through his personal sacrifices, his younger brothers later attained.

There are several quotations in the Note Book started in 1818 about education: one of special interest: "It is the want of equal education that makes the great difference between man and man: and the bar that divides the vulgar man from the gentleman is not so much a sense of superior birth, as a feeling of difference, a consciousness of different habits, ways of thinking and manners, the result of opposite situations."

In 1829, the Illinois Intelligencer mentions a meeting in New York "for the purpose of devising means to aid Illinois College. It seems that our representative in Congress General Duncan and the Rev. Mr. Ellis were able to hold out such inducements as have enlisted the feelings of some of the wealthiest citizens of New York in favor of the best interests of our State. A proposition was made to the non-resident proprietors of land in Illinois."[1] Mention is made later of the contribution of $900 from "eight gentlemen from New York who own lands in this State."

Hon. Joseph Gillespie writes of knowing Mr. Duncan personally: "He was a staunch friend of education and gave that subject his constant support. He believed it was better to govern the country through the schools than the courthouses, the jails and the penitentiaries."[2]

Rev. Dr. Edward Beecher of Illinois College, of which Mr. Duncan was trustee, wrote of his interest in education: "I regarded with deep interest his life and influence as a stateman, and in all the relations of social life my feelings toward him were those of absolute confidence in his integrity and in his wisdom as a counsellor in every good work, as well as in his energy as a worker in the great cause of education in all its departments."[3]

[1] Illinois Intelligencer, December 12, 1829.
[2] Recollections of Early Illinois and her Noted Men, Hon. Joseph Gillespie. Chicago Historical Society, 1880.
[3] Letter, May 12, 1885, quoted by Julia Duncan Kirby, Biographical Sketch of Joseph Duncan, page 66.

While in Congress, Mr. Duncan, in his speeches on the public lands question, constantly referred to the benefits of education and of the public school system, especially in the pioneer states.

And there is contemporaneous evidence that Duncan wrote the law. In the anonymous life, written in 1840 and printed in the Illinoian January 19, 1844, occurs this passage:

"He will be regarded by many of the rising generation of Illinois as a benefactor and as an instrument in the hands of Providence in improving their morality and intelligence—for he was the author of the first law for a public school ever enacted in the State, to which he wrote the following preamble, to wit:—" (here follows the preamble).

This early life calls attention to the unpopularity of the law among certain classes who objected to the tax feature. Duncan is reported to have closed one defense with: "If it was wrong for a free government sustained by the intelligence of the people to take care that all are educated, then he confessed he had done wrong and labored under a delusion. If so he could only pray as Cicero did in relation to the immortality of the soul that all mankind might labor under the same delusion."

The most important evidence that Mr. Duncan wrote the bill is that he quotes its preamble as his own in his passage as Governor in 1836:

"In all ages, and under every circumstance, education has decided the relative greatness of men and nations. Placed beyond its genial influence, man becomes a savage, and a nation a wandering band of lawless depredators. Education, under all forms of government, constitutes the first principle of human happiness; and especially it is important in a country where the sovereignty is vested in the people. Entertaining such views in 1825, while a member of the Senate, I submitted, (in a preamble, to a bill, for the establishment of free schools) a sentiment, and still considering it sound and just, I beg leave to quote the following extract: [Here follows the preamble as above.]

"Since then I have reflected much on the subject, and am more fully convinced that such a policy is perfectly consistent with the rights and interest of every citizen, and that it is the only one calculated to sustain our democratic republican institutions; in fact, general education is the only means by which the rich and the poor can be placed on the same level, and by which intelligence and virtue can be made to assume its proper elevation over ignorance and vice."

It is inconceivable from a general knowledge of the character of Mr. Duncan that he should claim credit for something in which he had no part.

It is much more likely that the enthusiastic, energetic, young Senator took the suggestion of the highly educated, reserved Governor and worked up the law to the honor of Illinois. There was a long friendship between Governor Coles and Mr. Duncan, even through an election in which Coles had been defeated for Congress by Duncan. As late as April 10, 1836, Mr. Duncan in a letter describes stopping to see Governor Coles in Philadelphia where he had removed.

Ford gives an explanation of why this law was not continued that is a curious illustration of the point of view of the pioneer—quite different from a century later:

"Both of these laws worked admirably well. [The other was a road tax]. The roads were never, before or since, in such good repair, and schools flourished in almost every neighborhood. But it appears that these valuable laws were in advance of the civilization of the times. They were the subject of much clamourous opposition. The very idea of a tax, though to be paid

in labor as before, was so hateful, that even the poorest men preferred to work five days in the year on the roads rather than to pay a tax of twenty-five cents, or even no tax at all. For the same reason they preferred to pay all that was necessary for the tuition of their children, or to keep them in ignorance, rather than to submit to the mere name of a tax by which their wealthier neighbors bore the blunt of the expense of their education."[1]

The Committee on Military affairs, with Mr. Duncan as chairman, which had been called upon to draw up a militia law, reported "an act for the organization and government of the militia." This was finally passed January 19, 1827, was agreed to by the House, and ordered printed with the rules of inspection and review, and the articles of war.[2] Duncan's military experience through the War of 1812 and his services as Major General of the State Militia of Illinois, qualified him to be of great service in this important field of legislation. He wanted the militia organized for efficiency and for this reason the staff officers should be selected by the field officers and not appointed either by the Governor or Legislature. He, therefore, objected to certain appointments by the Governor.[3]

The State Senate in those days consisted of only eighteen men and in a new state they had to pass on a great variety of subjects. Duncan, although a young man and new member, took an active part in all the proceedings of both sessions of the Legislature during his term as Senator. The Public School and Military bills were only two of many. He also had opportunity to act on the repairs of the State House, on the incorporation of the Illinois & Michigan Canal Company, on appropriations, on drawing up a digest of "the most important laws of the state" (for which the committee was allowed legal talent), on the leasing of seminary lands, on an act to establish "the Northern, Western, Southern, Eastern and Central Academies of Illinois," on compelling the contractors to cause the cornice or water spouts of the State House "to be finished as to conduct water off the walls," on the naming of Jo Daviess County "to perpetuate the memory of Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, who fell in the battle of Tippecanoe," and on the question of the survey of the Northern boundary of the state.

After the close of the first session of the Senate which lasted from November, 1824, to January, 1825, Duncan apparently made a trip to the East as his diary while in Congress refers to his having been in Washington at the time of the inauguration of President John Quincy Adams, (Mar. 4, 1825). His eyes may have already been turned toward the halls of Congress.

During this summer he also made a trip, at his own expense, to the northern part of Illinois to obtain first-hand information on the question of the Illinois-Michigan canal,[4] a subject on which he was called upon to act both as committeeman and senator, and which later absorbed so much of his attention as Congressman and Governor.

The Fourth of July, 1825, was celebrated in Vandalia by a dinner at the hotel of "Messrs. Thomas and Dickerson," at which Governor Coles presided as President, assisted by R. K. McLaughlin. Governor

[1] History of Illinois, Ford, page 58.
[2] Senate Journal, Jan. 19, 25, 1827.
[3] Senate Journal, Feb. 15, 1827.
[4] Anonymous Life of Joseph Duncan, 1840.

Coles responded to the toast "Our Free Institutions," and General Duncan to "Washington and Bolivar the Patriots of two Centuries, may the finale of the latter be as glorious as that of the former." Two of the thirteen toasts were to Henry Clay. Some of the others were: "The Cross must triumph over the Cresent and Liberty over Despotism," "To the memory of George Rogers Clarke," "The Will of the People, Let the Servant who Disobeys Tremble," "General Jackson, May he be our next President, Daniel P. Cook to the contrary, notwithstanding."

The following month Duncan was to announce himself as a candidate for Congress. When the second session of the Legislature met, December, 1826, Duncan had already been elected to Congress but he continued to do his full share of the business of the Senate, resigning February 19, 1827, at the close of the session.

CHAPTER III.

Member of Congress From Illinois. 1827–1834.

In August, 1826, Daniel P. Cook was a candidate for re-election to Congress. He had been first elected in 1819, when he was only about 25 years old and he had continued to be the sole representative of Illinois in Congress for four terms, while his father-in-law, Ninian Edwards, had been one of the two United States Senators from Illinois during the same period. Together, with their friends, they had dominated Illinois politics. Cook was a young man of pleasing personality, with the confidence of politicians and statesmen, both in Washington and Illinois, and with the promise of a brilliant future. As early as 1817, President Monroe had sent him to London, on a special mission inviting John Quincy Adams, then minister to England, to become Secretary of State, this leading to a friendship with Mr. Adams. In Congress, Cook had served on the Committee on Public Lands and later on the Ways and Means Committee. He had secured a grant of government lands in aid of the proposed Illinois-Michigan Canal. Several of his acts in Congress, however, had been criticized in Illinois. At the time of the Presidential contest in 1824, he had as sole congressman cast the vote of the state for Adams, this practically deciding the election. The state had, in regular election, given two electoral votes for Jackson and one for Adams. Cook had said he would follow the clearly expressed desire of the voters, but as there were four candidates and Adams, Jackson and Clay ran close on the popular vote, no one receiving a majority, Cook defended himself by declaring that there was no clear expression. On the land question Cook and his father-in-law, Senator Edwards, were both accused of opposing the reduction in the price of land, a matter of vital interest in a pioneer state. The old price was $2 an acre, 50 cents cash and the balance in five years. Cook and Edwards opposed the bill making the price $1.25, all cash, on the ground that it did away with the credit feature.[1] There was also a growing feeling that too much influence was in the hands of Edwards, Cook and Pope, constituting what was called "a family of rulers."[2] On January 28, 1826, Cook wrote to Edwards:

[1] Pease, Centennial History of Illinois, page 104.
[2] Washburne: Edwards Papers, page 255.

"Mr. Clay told me that the President wanted to send me abroad. This I shall prefer but would not like to do anything until I am elected again and I wish a large majority, if it can be had."[1] This family question, influenced by Edwards' plan of campaign for the governorship at the same time, had its effect on Cook's chances.

All these things were preparing the way for a new figure to enter into national politics. The old opponents of Cook apparently felt that it was useless to oppose him. He had previously beaten McLean, Kane and Bond, powerful factors in Illinois life. The election of 1826 was in danger of going by default, when, according to William H. Brown,[2] a contemporary, "the people of the State were astonished at the temerity of a young gentleman, then but little known, in announcing himself as a competitor with Mr. Cook for this office." This was Joseph Duncan, state senator from Jackson county. "His chances of success," Brown goes on, "were apparently hopeless; and it is supposed that a betting man * * * would not have risked one to one hundred dollars upon his election. He canvassed the State with diligence and assiduity * * * He was unaccustomed to public speaking, and in this respect compared very disadvantageously with Mr. Cook. Yet he had a faculty of presenting his ideas in a plain and simple way, easily understood by the masses, and to a great extent effective in such a population as then constituted the state * * *. The old opponents of Mr. Cook, of course, united upon him. As a candidate, he was a perfect God-send to them. If he failed in his election, it would be attributed not to the weakness of the party, but to the absence of all claims on the part of Gen. Duncan to such a position."

Of Mr. Duncan's canvass it was said: "His [Duncan's] speeches, devoid of ornament, though short, were full of good sense. He made a diligent canvass of the State, Mr. Cook being much hindered by the state of his health."[3]

Probably Duncan's "unassuming manner" alluded to at the time of his death by his fellow citizens, united with his independent spirit which held him aloof from alliance with any faction or political party, were the real reasons why he had not been considered a formidable opponent.

On the other side, Duncan had been steadily growing in favor with the people of Illinois. According to Governor Ford, his political opponent in later years, Duncan's character was such as "to win the esteem and affections of his fellow-citizens. He had not been long a citizen of this State, before he was elected major-general of the militia, and then a State Senator, where he distinguished himself * * * by being the author of the first common school law which was ever passed in this State." He had a brilliant record in the War of 1812. He was moreover at this time, before the development of Jackson's later policies, a

[1] Letter in Chicago Historical Society collections.

[2] History of Illinois and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards by Ninian W. Edwards, page 260. A memoir of Cook by Mr. Brown occupies pages 253-273 of the Edwards History.

[3] Davidson and Stuve: History of Illinois, page 338. [In connection with these references to Mr. Duncan as a speaker, I find a note made of an interview in 1896 with an old cousin, Mrs. Jane Duncan Snow, daughter of General James M. Duncan, in which she says: "Joseph Duncan had a great power in speaking. He gave an address at Elm Grove, on the election of Henry Clay, in pouring rain, three hours, and people would have stayed all night. He was plain but powerful speaker and had a talent for making himself popular—like Lincoln."—E. D. P.]

"thorough Jackson man," being "attached to General Jackson from an admiration of his character and the glory of his military achievements."[1] Duncan well represented the pioneer spirit of the west, but his popularity must have been based on his worth and sincerity, or he would not have been kept in office continuously for over fourteen years.

Joseph Duncan had announced himself a candidate for Congress in August, 1825, a year before the election.[2]

Duncan received 6,322 votes to Cook's 5,619, with 824 votes going to a third candidate, James Turney. The result was received with surprise and amazement by Cook's friends who had difficulty in picturing another man occupying his seat in Congress. A contemporary letter expresses this feeling: "What will the old members of Congress say when D. [Duncan] is seen to rise (if he ever should be so unfortunate) in the place of C. [Cook]. They must believe us madmen and fools."[3] On the other hand, Mr. Brown, the author of the memoir of Cook, says: "It is but just to General Duncan to say that his constituents were happily disappointed in his subsequent development of talents and tact, rendering him a worthy successor to our second representative."[4] "General Duncan," he continues in a footnote, "remained in Congress until 1834, having been elected Governor in that year. Before this time his original supporters had left him and he was sustained mainly by Mr. Cook's old friends."

When Mr. Duncan took his seat in Congress in 1827, John Quincy Adams was President. The young Illinoisan had been present at Adam's inauguration in 1825 and in his diary later he contrasts the military parade of that inauguration with the simplicity of Jackson's to the advantage of the latter. There was an unusual group of men at the Capital at the time—Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton and others.

Duncan, being the sole representative from Illinois in Congress from 1827 to 1833, was especially interested in the matters that concerned the west. The Congressional Debates show that all his speeches directly or indirectly deal with policies that affected the new and growing part of the country—land, internal improvements, protection of settlers, etc. Even his speech on the United States Bank dwelt largely on its usefulness in developing the west. The land question was his special interest and he became an active member of the Committee on Public Lands, a position he held during his four terms in Congress. It must be remembered that many of the great questions to be solved involved the development of the territory west of the Alleghenies and little knowledge of this region could be expected from eastern congressmen. In 1825, Senator McLean writes: "I heard Webster observe better than a year ago that King had no idea that the country west of the Alleghany formed any part of the United States. * * * There was much truth in the remark."[5] From this new region, on account of the spare population, the few states sent a comparatively small number of Congressmen. Each one of these Congress-

[1] Ford, History of Illinois, pages 75 and 169.
[2] Illinois Intelligencer, Aug. 19, 1825.
[3] Letter of Joseph M. Street to Governor Edwards, Shawneetown, July 28, 1827, in Chicago Historical Society collections.
[4] Brown, Memoir of Cook, in Edwards History of Illinois, page 266.
[5] Letter of John McLean to Governor Edwards 25 April, 1825. Chicago Historical Society Collections.

men had to be most active in representing the interest of his section of the country—the Debates of Congress show that Duncan performed his duty.

His first motion was on February 18, 1828, in connection with the pay of the Illinois and Michigan Militia on account of the recent Indian disturbances.

Coming fresh from the frontier, Mr. Duncan made his first real speech April 1, 1828, in introducing a resolution for mounted volunteers for the better protection of western settlers. The resolution read as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expedience of attaching to the Army of the United States, eight companies of mounted volunteer gun-men, to be stationed on the Western frontier of the United States, and of disbanding from the present peace establishment, one regiment of infantry."

On the resolution he spoke as follows:

"Mr. Duncan said he considered the change in the army which was contemplated by the resolution he had submitted, was one of very great importance, and especially so to the settlers on the Western frontier of the United States, who had so often suffered for want of a more efficient protection from the armies of the United States. He said it was a fact well known, that the Indians do not dread an army of foot soldiers, or any number of troops stationed in the forts on the line; that small parties of Indians were frequently known to pass by those forts with impunity, and commit the most shocking outrages upon the defenceless citizens, and make their escape unhurt.

He said he was aware that the House would receive with reluctance, any proposition to make a material change in an important branch of the Government, without the most conclusive proof of the necessity or propriety of such a change, in consequence of which, he had written to General Gaines and Governor Cass upon the subject, knowing them both to be intimately acquainted with every thing which relates to the defence of our Western frontier. He said he had received their answers; and moved that the correspondence with them be printed; which was agreed to."[1]

The resolution was adopted, but as Mr. Duncan had to bring up the same subject at several later sessions of Congress, it appears to have taken time to secure action.

On May 13, 1828, Mr. Duncan married Elizabeth Caldwell Smith of New York City. She was a granddaughter of Rev. James Caldwell of New Jersey, Chaplain in the Revolutionary Army who was killed shortly after his wife, Hannah Ogden, had been deliberately shot by the Hessians under the command of the British. Their daughter, Hannah Ogden Caldwell, married James R. Smith, of New York City. Mr. Smith had come to this country as a lad from Kirkcudbright, Scotland, and by energy and ability had become a successful merchant in New York City. He evinced his shrewd business ability by buying property along Broadway up to and beyond Thirty-fourth Street. He lived in Pearl Street and had a summer home in Greenwich near what is now Washington Square. He drew up a remarkable will trying to entail the property till the youngest grandchild (which would have been Mrs. Julia Duncan Kirby of Jacksonville) should be of age.

Miss Smith, after the death of her mother made her home in Washington, D. C., with her sister Mrs. Matthew St. Clair Clarke, whose hus-

[1] Congressional Debates, 20 Congress, 1 Session.

E. C. Duncan

band was for many years clerk of the House of Representatives and their home was a popular social center.

In her reminiscences[1] Mrs. Duncan writes of studying French, logic, music and dancing, a curious preparation for her future life in the west. She also naively mentions that she was quite "a belle" and gives the names of her swains. These glimpses are rather refreshing as her mature diaries are mostly taken up with texts of sermons! Throughout life, in spite of being more or less an invalid, she was exceedingly fond of society.

Mrs. Duncan's reminiscences continue: "I was invited to President John Q. Adams to dinner, when I wore a crimson silk [dress], hair in three puffs on the top and three puffs on each side of the head—High tortoise shell comb. I tell this to show the fashion of the day. Embroidered silk stockings and black satin slippers. I was introduced to General Duncan from Kaskaskia, Illinois, by William Carroll of Carrollton. Henry Clay at dinner told me of his [Duncan's] goodness to his mother—said he was not only a good looking fellow but was a good son and brother, having taken care of his mother and educated his sister and two brothers. * * *.

* * * "My sister, Mrs. Clarke, gave me a select wedding. Two weeks after we came out to Kaskaskia to visit his sister, Mrs. Linn. His mother, Mrs. Moore, lived with her. His brother Mat and his wife lived at Fountain Bluff where my husband owned a saw mill. Mrs. Colonel Mather lived there at that time. Mrs. Conn lived near there.

"My husband and I rode on horseback to the river to take the boat to go and visit General Jackson at the Hermitage, Nashville, Tennessee. But just as we got in sight, the boat pushed off and left us. As my husband was electioneering and was limited as to time, we were never able to make the promised visit.

"We crossed the mountains in a stage. Steamboat at Wheeling to Cairo, from Cairo to St. Louis in company with Mr. and Mrs. James K. Polk of Tennessee, little thinking he would ever fill the President's chair, such a common place man. In St. Louis, Mrs. General Ashley invited us to her house. We spent a delightful week there. * * * St. Louis was settled by the French. At that time they owned most of the business part of the city and the streets were narrow and dirty and the weather was warm and I was glad to take a boat to Kaskaskia. We went to Fountain Bluff on horseback, Mr. Duncan's sister, Polly Ann, going by boat with the provisions. The boat was delayed and we reached there to find no one in the house but an old colored man servant, who my husband left me in charge of and rode away to the landing with the horses to meet his sister. It grew dark before they returned and I asked for a candle. Found to my dismay there was not one in the house. He said Missus would bring the tallow and he would soon dip some. That evening was as dark and frightful to me as the Dark Day was to our Fathers, and from that night I was never caught without both candles

[1] Copy is preserved in Mrs. Julia Duncan Kirby's handwriting dated "Jacksonville, Illinois, September 28, 1875."

Introduction; ** "I have thought it would not be without interest some day to my little niece (Bessie Duncan Putnam) to read what I shall be able to write for her of her Grand Mother's life.*** Your Grand Mother says, I was born in Pearl Street, N. Y. City March 28, 1808," etc.

and matches with me. And although a troublesome thing to always think of once it saved the lives of a whole party in crossing the mountains (which by the way I did 8 times in a stage or private carriage), the driver got off the road. When he called out he wished that nervous woman whom he had scolded for carrying a candle would hand it out that he might see where he was. When I did so he found he was within an inch of a frightful precipice. Another step of the horses would have plunged us hundreds of feet below."

Mrs. Duncan stayed with her husband's relatives at Fountain Bluff and at Vandalia while Mr. Duncan electioneered throughout the State. Ninian Edwards speaks in a handbill of August 1 "that General Duncan posted through Belleville with much haste."

During the summer he visited the lead mines about Galena near which there had been trouble with the Indians the year before. It was supposed that these mines were in Illinois but as the official government surveys had not been extended that far there was some doubt as to whether the mines were in Illinois or Michigan Territory. On July 10, 1828, Mr. Duncan writes to his wife from the "Steam Boat Indiana" of the Fourth of July celebration when a party of "42 ladies and 53 gentlemen from Galena visited an Indian village, near what is called Labukes [Dubuque?] mines where we saw a large number of Indians spent a few hours made them some presents and returned. I never have witnessed a celebration of the Fourth of July with as much pleasure as I did this, everything conspired to make it interesting except your absence. The fact alone of witnessing more than forty intelligent and accomplished ladies chiefly married, who had followed the fortunes of their husbands five hundred miles in the wilderness and in an Indian country was enough of itself to create feelings of the warmest admiration. * * * The people in the mining country are generally intelligent and enterprising and appear to have assembled from the four quarters of the globe and as each depends upon his own industry for success there is no rivalry amongst them of course more than usual cordiality.

"I left Mr. Davidson our Greencastle friend at the mines. We ascended the river in the same boat. I shall send this letter to St. Louis and may write you again from Alton when I land, should nothing interfere I will be at Vandalia about the 16 of this month and shall pass through Greene, Morgan, Sangamon and Mt. Gomery counties on my way."

Later in the summer, 1828, after a few days at Jacksonville, which was to become their future home, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan returned to Washington for the Second Session of Congress. Mrs. Duncan's papers continue: "Mrs. Mather took us in their carriage to Carlyle several days journey two nights and two days. We stopped for the night at a log cabin but one room, so four of us slept in one room, not an unusual occurrence in those days. At Carlyle we took the stage, went through the State to Indiana over cordoroy roads through Ohio and Michigan to Cleveland. The lake was so rough and the boat so poor we coasted the lake in a covered wagon to Buffalo. Through New York State in a stage to Albany. In a steamboat from there to New York then stages to Washington City. We were three weeks in reaching my sister's house. My husband was re-elected to Congress was the reason for our return.

In November the weather was beautiful. It was a rough journey. I felt I was going home. I never liked the west and was so glad to get back."

In this session the only speech of Mr. Duncan recorded in the Congressional Debates was on the question of the survey of the northern boundary of Illinois, involving the lead mines he had visited the preceding summer. There were two bills, one appointing a commissioner to run the boundary, the other assigning the work to the U. S. Engineer Corps. Mr. Duncan urged prompt action, saying:

"Much interest was felt on the subject in Illinois, particularly in the northern part of that State, where more than 20,000 people were now settled in the vicinity of the lead mines. Great inconvenience was continually sustained, for want of having this line definitely settled. A portion of these lead mines was claimed by Michigan and by Illinois, and it was all-important that the controversy as to jurisdiction should be brought to an end as speedily as possible."[1]

Mr. Duncan said he understood that "Colonel McCrea, surveyor general now designated in the bill, was a most competent engineer, very scientific, and a practical man, who enjoyed, and he believed justly, a high reputation." However, the bill was laid on the table. Mr. Duncan through his Congressional career watched the interests of the lead mines. In March, 1829, for instance, his diary shows he opposed a purely political appointment as superintendent.

In 1828, Andrew Jackson was elected President. Duncan was evidently an ardent supporter of him at this election. Though Jackson was nearly thirty years older there is a curious similarity in the public careers of the two westerners; both had fought and distinguished themselves in the war of 1812; both had been Major General of Militia in their respective states; both had served in Congress. While Jackson was in the United State Senate, Duncan was in the State Senate. They evidently knew each other from the mention in Mrs. Duncan's diary of the intended visit to the Hermitage.

From Mr. Duncan's diary begun just before Jackson's inauguration it is apparent he looked forward with anticipation to Jackson's presidency. The diary gives a contemporaneous view of this important period and is published entire in the appendix. From the first entry it is evident that Duncan disapproved of the men surrounding the General and evidently felt he was liable to be unduly influenced.

"1829

Feb. (——)

Various applications for me to support D. Green for Public Printer. Could not consent to do so, knew too much of him. Believed and told his friends that they would soon get tired of him, he was arrogant, dictatorial and possessed no fixed principles. General Jackson arrived in Washington City. Major Eaton met him on the road and escorted him in."

Mr. Duncan called on the President several times and on February 21st called again to introduce a friend.

"Saw Mr. Tazewell with the President, the only suitable companion I had met. Saw Capt. Taylor of the U. S. Army. Says he heard Genl. Jackson was to call that day upon President A.....that he met Genl. D. G. and told him that he understood that Genl. J. was to call on Mr. A. that day. Genl. D. G. said that he would not believe the report and that he would go and see, if it was so he would very soon put a stop to it. *Arrogance enough.*

[1] Cong. Debates—20 Cong., 2 Session.

Disgusted to see W. M. L. Genl. D. G., J. P. V., etc., constantly with Genl. J. to the exclusion of his or the countries friends.

"Feby. 23rd. From the persons who surround the Genl. I fear he is to be improperly influenced in his first appointments. The Central Committee appear to consider him their own game. Some of them are constantly with him or about the doors, so I am informed for I do not know them all by sight. I called to see Genl. J. at 7 o'clock in the evening with two friends, M. S. C.[1] and Lt. Johnson. The president expressed much pleasure at seeing us. Said he was more gratified to see us at that hour, as Duff, as he called him, had presumed to set his hours for him to receive his visitors, but he said that would all be right as he had ordered Green to correct the statement in his paper regulating his hours for receiving visitors. What excessive presumption was the first feeling I had, but it is all right, as it must very soon place this character in his proper hole."

There are rumors about the cabinet and the various appointments. Then comes another interview with the President in which "he says he will remove no officer on account of his political opinions unless he has used his office for the purpose of electioneering. He appears liberal and I agree perfectly with his views."

We can imagine Mr. Duncan's rejoicing over this assurance as through life he believed in an efficient civil service. Unfortunately Jackson did not maintain the high standard expressed in this remark but soon inaugurated sweeping removals from office.

"4th March: Attended the President's inauguration. He walked from Gadsbies Hotel with his hat off, in a great crowd. Having a fine view from the west room in the clerk's office in the Capitol, I could see him & the vast crowd at every point until they ascended the great steps which enter the Capitol. Saw nothing that I disliked but the conspicuous station and part acted by the Central Committee. Stood near the President when he read his address. Was struck with the profound attention of the multitude while he read, especially as I am convinced that three-fourths of all present could not have heard the sound of his voice at least so as to distinguish one word. The expression of the people on his first appearance was very fine and showed that he has a strong hold on their affections. The number present is variously estimated, opinions of intelligent persons vary from 15 to 30 thousand. No parade of the military present except one or two companies and they were very far off. I think they were from Alexandria as I saw one of them coming from that direction. With this I was much pleased. I am opposed to great parades and especially military parades on such an occasion. Had rather see the honors done after the service is performed, but in this District where most of the people are servants or connected with the government [it] is natural they should worship the rising sun. I was forcibly struck with the contrast between Mr. Adams entering on and closing his official duties as President. I was present in 1825 when his inauguration took place. It was a fine day and from the moment I first looked into the street on the 4th of March until dark, I saw nothing but a bustle [of] people moving in all directions and many of them by sunrise in full military dress, and by 10 o'clock the Avenue was crowded with armed soldiers which I took to be a mixture of marines, infantry and artillery of the U. S. and militia of the District. It was certainly the finest display I ever witnessed. Was informed that many of the coats had been bought to honor Genl. Lafayette. I was glad to hear it for the idea of their having been bought for this occasion was too ridiculous. In 1829 Mr. Adams was not seen on the 4th of March and I suppose would not have been thought of but for a coffin hand bill that was circulated in the crowd announcing his death in the most digusting manner. It produced general disgust. Did not go to the Palace to see the President receive his friends after the inauguration. Understood that the crowd was

[1] Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Mr. Duncan's brother-in-law and Clerk of the House of Representatives.

very great, all sorts of folks, some on fine satin chairs and Sofas, mahogany tables, &c., with their feet. A report was circulated that the gold & silver spoons were stolen on this occasion. I believe it was not true.

The city is filled with office seekers. There is general disappointment in the appointment of the cabinet. Clay says that they charged Mr. A. with making a bargain, that he thinks Genl. J. had better have made one."

The State appointments came up for discussion between the two Senators and the one Representative. McLean and Duncan "opposed removals except for some good cause other than political. * * * Kane rather differed in opinion about removals."

The question of removals from office for political purpose was the cause of the first strain on Duncan's allegiance to Jackson. From the time in the State Senate when he had voted for Birkbeck on account of his efficiency—consistently through life he refused to concur in what became a political tenet of the Democratic party of that period. The ruling passion of Duncan's political career seems to have been an efficient civil service. It has not been possible to find a trace of inconsistency in the career of Joseph Duncan in the stand he then took on the question of removals from office for other than inefficiency and which he held till the day of his death. It was the chief charge he held against Van Buren in his joint debate with Douglas in 1840 in Springfield. He had refused offers of the Jackson administration to appoint relatives if he would recommend them. "This I cannot consistently do as I am unwilling to ask or receive a favor which would place me under obligations to the executive power of the government while I am a representative of the people."

His cousin, James Finley, writes on January 24th, 1824: "In speaking of the appointment of your brother you say that it was made in opposition to your recommendation. This, all who are acquainted with your uniform policy will readily believe."

At this time Congressman Duncan was active in connection with the Illinois and Michigan Canal:

"March, 1829. * * * Called to see the President & Secretary of War about getting the Illinois & Lake Michigan Canal located & the route from the Illinois River to Lake Erie examined. Saw Genl. Gratiott, got him to go with me to the War Dept., find him very friendly to my views and to the West. Secretary thinks the law does not authorize him to send engineers to locate. Refer to the case in Indiana under the same law: He appears disposed to do right and says if the favor has been done to Indiana it should also be extended to Illinois, promises it shall be ordered.

Later in his congressional career considering this as more than a State affair, he spoke on January 4, 1831, on the National government assisting in financing the improvement. From the vantage ground of 90 years, we can see that the advocates of the canal were optimistic about its cost and importance.[1] It is to be remembered that there were

[1] It is now more than a hundred years since the canal between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River was definitely proposed. It has been the subject of endless debate in both Springfield and Washington. It was built, served a useful purpose for many years before the railroads were fully developed, and in time became neglected. With the construction of the Chicago drainage canal and the revived interest in waterway transportation it has in recent years again come into the limelight of debate in Springfield and Washington. With the appropriation of $20,000,000 for a modern waterway connecting Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River it may again become a factor in commerce as well as in debate.

no railroads in Illinois at this time and the travel was largely by water. The canal system was an important element in the transportation facilities of the east and was steadily spreading west. The importance of connecting the different parts of Illinois both for commercial and for future political reasons cannot be lost sight of. The south was mostly settled from Kentucky and the slave states while the settlers of the north were from New England. The records of Congress show that Mr. Duncan was a strong advocate of the canal connecting Lake Michigan and the Mississippi and also of a National road for the free use of the east and the west, and again on June 4, 1832, he urged the improvement of the harbors on the Great Lakes: "Commerce upon the lakes had increased beyond all calculation, yet it was exposed to innumerable dangers for the want of better harbors. For the want of these improvements much property and many lives had been lost. On Lake Michigan a valuable engineer had unhappily perished."

On May 26, 1829, Congressman Duncan left Washington for Illinois, and early in July went to Kentucky, visiting relatives and attending to family business. He went on to Nashville, Tennessee, to visit his brother Thomas. At Nashville he met Colonel Wilson, an editor, who had just returned from Washington, and entered in his diary:

"I asked him if he had seen much of Genl. Jackson while in Washington. He had. I inquired if he had observed any changes in his intellect. He replied that he visited Washington in consequence of having observed that the Genl's. mind had sunk about the death of his wife and he regretted to find that it was still sinking. He dreaded the news by every mail for he and the Genl's. friends generally fear his total [incompetence(?)]

In Paris, Kentucky, he spent the time from July 30th to August 12th "rather unpleasantly owing to the political controversies among many of my old friends." He sold certain lots, including "the stone house & attached ground for six hundred dollars in cotton at 15 cents per doz." He closed up most of the accounts, including one that recalls how he had helped his brothers secure an education:

"The money or cotton received for stone house I expect to sell to pay my checks as I owed the debts to Garrard & Hickman on account of money borrowed out of bank to send my brother Thos. A. Duncan to school which with the interest amounts to much more than the price received for said house, but I never expect to make further claim for this and other monies I have advanced to and for my brothers."

In 1830, Thomas Duncan, a brother, was killed in Louisiana. It was probably accidental, but the following letter, written by Joseph Duncan from Washington to his brother, Gen. James M. Duncan who went south to investigate the circumstances, shows his respect for law and justice. Considering that he was a Kentuckian and had lived most of his life on the frontier where people acted impulsively, it seems to be indicative of an unusual character.

"Feb. 21, 1830. * * * In any event I hope you will indulge no feelings of revenge. If the law acquits him, leave him with his God, who has said, 'Vengeance is mine.' I hope you will see that he has strict justice done him, and will employ such council as will insure him a fair trial and if it shall be a punishable offence, I sincerely hope that the law may be satisfied, but avoid anything like persecution, and indulge no malace. * * * Even though this wretch has murdered our brother, I would not for the world do him injustice.—* * * but at the same time I hold it a duty that we owe ourselves, and to society, and to the memory of our beloved brother,

to see that the law shall be fairly and fully administered, and when this is done we should leave the rest with Providence."

On August first, 1830, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan returned to Jacksonville which then became their permanent home. Mr. Duncan was re-elected to Congress by a large majority, receiving 13,052 votes to 4,652 for Breese, and to 3,307 for Coles. Leaving his wife and children in Jacksonville he returned to Washington alone.

On December 18, 1830, he writes from Washington City to Mrs. Duncan:

"How I would delight to be restored to our fire-side, surrounded by our little family. * * * All the gayety and splendid entertainments of this city, have no charms compared with the pleasure of such a scene, but the time is rapidly passing and I hope soon to meet you all in good health. * * * I write too often to tell you much news at a time and indeed I have too little intercourse and take too little interest in this city to know much about it."

"Dec. 22. I dined yesterday at Mr. Wm. T. Carroll's.[1] They live in fine style, he has a great many fine things in his house, you might know that however, from your knowledge of him, his wife appears to be very amiable. I dine again tomorrow with the President after which I may write you some news as I hope something may occur worth telling you."

Unfortunately the letter alluded to is not with this collection. It was probably with the papers of political importance burned in the Chicago fire.

"December 25. I dined yesterday with Mr. G. Dyson, in company with your two sisters, Mrs. Black, Mr. C. etc; that aunt of theirs is too fulsom for my taste altogether, she talks of nothing but learned authors, critics, ministers of state and her humble self.* * Tomorrow I dine with the Post Master General, the day before yesterday, I dined with the President and last night I supped with Mr. Ingham. So you [see] I am in no danger of starving and as Capt. Jack Nichols of the Navy would say, I have the run of all the kitchens in the city, more indeed than I would wish, but I do not let it interfere in the least with my business."

"December 31. I have been so engaged the last two days that I have not written to you. * * * I find my business increasing rapidly and it may be that I will write less frequently in future but if I do Sister Janet and Anna Maria C. [Caldwell] will make up for me. * * * It is now just after daylight and I am writing by candle light. I am uneasy about the horses, etc., at home. I fear Mr. Guin will not feed and water them well, you must get Mariah to look to them and see that they are regularly attended to. I expect to go to the British Minister's tonight. I will send you the invitation as you are invited. O how I would delight to have the pleasure of your company even to go to a heartless levee for a single night but how much greater would be the happiness of being restored to the bosom of my dear little family at our own fireside. * * * Tomorrow is the great day at the President's so of course I must make my appearance."

Trouble that could not be overlooked began with the Indians, under Blackhawk in 1831. They returned to their old village in Rock River Valley near the present city of Rock Island, where it is said they drove off the settlers, killed the cattle and threatened the people with death if they remained. The land had been previously ceded to the government and the settlers protested to Governor Reynolds. He referred the matter to General Gaines, in command of the U. S. troops at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, offering the aid of the State troops. General Gaines asked for 600. On May 27, 1831 the Governor issued a call for volunteers to assemble at Beardstown on June 10. The response was enthusiastic, it

[1] A groomsman at their wedding in 1828.

was a busy time on the farms but 1,500 men, mostly on horseback, presented themselves eager to defend the frontier. As they hoped to intimidate the Indians and avoid bloodshed, the entire force was taken. "The whole brigade was put under the command of Major General Duncan of the State Militia. This was the largest military force which had ever been assembled in the State and made an imposing appearance as it traversed the then unbroken wilderness of prairie. * * * Much credit is undoubtedly due to Governor Reynolds and General Duncan for the unprecedented quickness with which the brigade was called out and organized and marched to the seat of war.[1]

Under date of 18th June, 1831, Governor Reynolds writes from Beardstown to Governor Edwards at Belleville:

"We will have about fourteen hundred men ready to move against the Indians. There are so many that we must have a Brigade. I called Gen. Duncan to act as Brigadier-General. There will be an election for 2 Colonels and 4 Majors. I think we start about Monday next. The companies are divided to make about 50 or 60 men each.

I received another letter from Gen. Gaines of the 13th inst. He advises to be '*vigilant*' and to go '*soon.*'

I have no news to inform you of. A great spirit of harmony prevails. * * *."[2]

A junction was made with the U. S. troops under the command of General Gaines near the mouth of Rock River, on the Mississippi.[3] In the council meeting held that evening, to arrange for the attack the following day, General Duncan naturally accepted the statements of General Gaines about the topography of the land, as the latter had been in this vicinity for some time. The U. S. troops went by steamer to Vandruff's Island in Rock River where the volunteers met them. General Gaines' plan included attacking the Indians from both the Island and the bluff overlooking it. The island was a dense thicket in which the troops became entangled. When they finally reached the main shore, they found that the Indians had quietly retired during the night to the west bank of the Mississippi.

The Indian village was destroyed by fire. Blackhawk and his chiefs signed an agreement on June 30, 1831, at Fort Armstrong "to reside and hunt upon their own lands, west of the Mississippi River." "The enemy being apparently humbled and quiet restored, the army was disbanded and returned home in the best of spirits, not a single person, by disease, accident, or otherwise, having lost his life."[4]

The Chicago American of July 18, 1842, has an interesting quotation from the Alton Telegraph:

"Governor Duncan was at this time, [Black Hawk War] a candidate for election to Congress which rendered his position one of great delicacy. Under such circumstances men are too apt to expect indulgences. But never was an army commanded with more sternness. He performed his whole duty himself, and compelled every office and soldier to do the same. * * *.

This campaign was in the spring of the year at a rainy, disagreeable season, over an uninhabited portion of the country, full of streams, which the army was frequently compelled to cross in the prairies, with mud banks and bottoms, which would have retarded its movements for many days but

[1] Ford, History of Illinois, pages 112, 115.
[2] Washburne, Edwards Papers, page 572.
[3] History of the War [Blackhawk] by John A. Wakefeld, page 6.
[4] Davidson and Stuvé, History of Illinois, p. 380.

for the invention of a grass bridge to cross them, which Governor Duncan made by tying mowed grass in large bundles or fagots and causing a company of men to carry a bundle and in quick succession throw them into the stream until it was filled; at the same moment the army commenced crossing rapidly so as to keep the grass pressed to the bottom. In this way he usually crossed his whole force over in about thirty minutes, which otherwise would not have been passed in twenty-four hours.

When General Gaines was informed of the invention of these bridges, which had enabled Duncan to come to his relief ten or fifteen days sooner than he expected him, he declared, "If one of Napoleon's officers had displayed such tact, it would immediately have raised him to the highest honors of the nation.' It was owing to the use of these grass bridges that our army was enabled to overtake and capture the same band of Indians when they invaded the country again in 1832." [From Alton Telegraph.]

Mr. Duncan in a speech in Congress on June 9, 1832, when the second Blackhawk war was in progress in Illinois, reverted to his early and forceful plea for mounted troops to defend the settlers on the frontier. He submitted "a letter giving some very shocking details of the massacres committed by the Indians upon the defenceless inhabitants,"* and advocated a mounted force for defending the frontier. He "firmly believed that all the distress and bloodshed that had just been heard of in Illinois would have been avoided if Congress had adopted the plan he then (1828) and now suggested. The government had the power and it was proper that it should protect everyone of its citizens while engaged in their usual pursuits. On great occasions, he thought the militia should be relied on for the National defence but it was ruinous to any people engaged in civil pursuits to be compelled to defend their own firesides or to be required to march in defense of their neighbors, on every invasion of an enemy, however small their force. The militia on the frontier had always given the highest evidence of patriotism, by turning out at a moment's warning to defend the country, even though it deprived them of raising a crop for the support of their families, which was the case last year and he did not doubt it would be so again this season."[1]

The bill, embodying principles which Mr. Duncan had been urging since his first entry into Congress, was finally passed after being amended by the Senate.

Mr. Duncan appears to be always interested in reward of bravery. On February 5, 1831, he supported the granting of a pension to a mail carrier wounded while carrying mail through the Indian country.[2] (Bill was lost.) March, 1834, he voted with John Quincy Adams on the extension of pension laws to revolutionary soldiers.

On March 26, 1832, in a discussion of a bill to organize the Ordinance Department[3] he offered a resolution "To extend all the other staff departments of the army where it may be required for the public service, so that each corps or department shall be perfect and distinct without a detail from the officers of the line, * * * to provide that no preference be given exclusively to cadets educated at West Point in filling vacancies which may happen in the army, "increasing pay of non-commissioned officers and soldiers and providing a bounty for serving two terms of five years each."

[1] Cong. Debates, 22 Congress, 1 Session.
[2] Cong. Debates, 21 Congress, 1 Session.
[3] Cong. Debates, 22 Congress, 1 Session.

On June 1, 1832, Mr. Duncan spoke in favor of appropriating subsistence to friendly Indians who may seek refuge during the present Indian disturbance. "One act of hostility committeed on one of these friendly tribes would be sufficient to involve the whole frontier in trouble for years."[1]

On March 13, 1834, on the military appropriation bill, he approved the policy of establishing "a line of posts with suitable stables" from the Arkansas River to the Northern Lakes for the accommodation of the dragoons or mounted troops. He favored "displaying a force on the whole frontier at least once a year."[2]

The opening of the west was making immediately necessary the extension of the government survey. Speaking January 12th, 1831, on a bill for the survey of public land, the Congressman from Illinois said:

"A very large portion of the State of Illinois was yet to be surveyed—only twenty-seven out of forty odd millions had been surveyed. Mr. D. spoke of the quality of the soil and beauty of the country in the northern section of Illinois, and north of it, and the prospect of its immediate settlement when surveyed and brought into market. He said there was now, and had been for several years, a large number of citizens, estimated at near ten thousand, residing in the northern part of Illinois, far beyond the present surveys; that an equal or greater number resided north of the State, in the Northwest territory, where there was not an acre of public land surveyed. He hoped that a statement of these facts would sufficiently show the necessity of extending the surveys in Illinois and Michigan."

Mr. D. proceeded, and said, "that the whole argument of the gentleman (in opposition) was in favor of keeping up the price of public land, by keeping the public land out of market; which he said was a policy peculiarly favorable to the land speculator, and oppressive to the poor, who has his home yet to purchase. He said that a farmer, who wanted his land for his own use, cared but little whether it was estimated at a high or low price; nor did such men generally care at how low a rate their poor neighbors purchased their homes, it was only those, he said, who had land to sell, that felt much interest about the price it bears."

"Mr. D. believed it to be the true policy of the Government to survey all the lands within the States and Territories as soon as possible, and bring them into market. He thought it quite probable that there were enough settlers at this moment on the unsurveyed land, who are prepared to purchase their homes, to pay enough at once to defray the expense of surveying all the public lands yet to be surveyed in the States. He thought it was too late for gentlemen to succeed in an attempt to arrest the emigration to the West. People, he remarked, are now settled, in large or small bodies, in nearly every district of the public lands where the Indian title has been extinguished; and he held it to be the duty, as well as the best policy of the Government, to afford them an opportunity of purchasing their homes as soon as possible, and on the most favorable terms."[3]

On February 23, 1832, Mr. Duncan spoke in a debate on surveys of public lands.

"It was the settled policy of the Government to survey the public lands as fast as possible. The enterprising emigrants alluded to by the gentleman from New York (Mr. Root) were continually making farms beyond the surveys. It was good policy to enable them to become free holders of the soil and enable them to commence improvements."[4]

The Illinois Representative, realizing as he did, the importance of waterway transportation wherever available, spoke on May 3, 1832 in

[1] Cong. Debates, 22 Congress, 1 Session.
[2] Cong. Debates, 23 Congress, 1 Session.
[3] Cong. Debates, 21 Congress, 2 Session.
[4] Cong. Debates, 22 Congress, 1 Session.

reference to a dangerous shoal in the Mississippi River, and proposed an amendment to the act of 1824 providing for the removal of obstructions in the channel of the Upper Mississippi between St. Louis and Galena. This would include rocks and shoals as well as snags.

In the midst of this busy session of Congress Mr. Duncan was selected to attend the Baltimore Convention. He regretted anything that would take him away from his duties as representative, as shown by the following letter:

House of Representatives.
April 18, 1832.

T. W. Smith.

Dear Sir: You wish to know whether I will attend the Baltimore Convention and intimate that your attendance will depend upon my answer. Being the only representative in this house from the State, I have always thought the selection of myself as one of the representatives to that convention was ill-advised. This convention meets about the close of this session of Congress, which is the time that most of the bills are usually passed, and as there are many now before both houses of great interest to our State, it may be out of my power to attend.

I therefore would by all means advise you to attend this convention. You say that more than seventy counties have met and approved my appointment and that it is the general wish that I should attend. These facts impose a strong obligation upon me to go and if at all compatible with my other duties, and there should be a necessity for it, I intend to do so.

With great respect,
Your obedient servant,
Joseph Duncan.

The Baltimore Republican of May 25, 1832, gives the names of the delegates from Illinois at the Convention as Elias K. Kane and John M. Robinson. Apparently Mr. Duncan did not attend.

Mr. Duncan was a member of the Committee on Public Lands during his entire service in Congress. Benton, in the Senate, was urging the reduction in the price of lands to make it possible for the poorest settler to own land. "In this agitation lay the germs of the later homestead system, as well as of the propositions to relinquish the Federal public lands to the states wherein they lay."[1]

In the house Mr. Duncan spoke frequently on the land question. As this is part of the history of the State, his speeches are worth preserving. His first one was on December 29, 1829.

He pointed out that the grants, or donations, of land by the government to the new states, consisting chiefly of the sixteenth sections in each township given for the use of schools to be established in the township, were more "justly considered as a part of the consideration and an inducement to the purchase of all the remaining lands in the township." Moreover these grants "were made upon the express condition that those states would never tax the public lands within their limits, nor those sold by the General Government within five years after the sale. Surely this is no donation, it is a fair bargain, and the new states have the worst part of it, as they have given up a right which would be worth more to them now than a hundred times the quantity of land they have received." Replying to the objections that land had in some cases

[1] Rise of the New West by F. J. Turner, p. 143.

been given to certain new states to assist them in making internal improvements, such as roads and canals, he said:

"That it was a fact well known to every man of common observation, that every valuable improvement in a country, such as a road or a canal, is calculated to increase the value of the lands through or near which they are constructed; and as the general Government owned much the largest part of the land in the new States, and especially where some of those improvements are to be made, he thought he should hazard nothing in saying that, in every instance where the improvement is made, the increased value of the public lands occasioned exclusively by the improvement will amount to ten times the value of the donation. He said that a policy which would be wise in an individual owning large quantities of wild land, would also be wise in a Government; and he appealed to any gentleman to say whether he would not consider a portion of this land well appropriated in this way, when there was a certainty of its hastening the sale, and increasing the value of the residue.

"He said that about eighteen-twentieths of all the lands in the State he represented belonged to the General Government, and that his constituents were burdened with a heavy tax to construct roads and bridges, which, though necessary to their own convenience, had a direct and certain tendency to raise the value of all the lands over which they are made. He said he knew the States had no power to compel the General Government to contribute its part to these improvements; but he hoped that a sense of justice would prevent its receiving such advantage without contributing its full portion towards it.

He said he believed his constituents would be satisfied with having their just and reasonable claims satisfied, which were, that the price should be reduced, and the sales so regulated as to enable all the settlers to obtain their homes on reasonable terms."[1]

In the debate on the Illinois canal January 4th, 1831, he spoke on the public land question and the fact that no encouragement was held out to settlers to improve the land belonging to the United States. No one would venture to settle on or improve land without a hope of ever owning it. He continued, according to the record, in defense of the pioneers and "squatters":

"Gentlemen in this House appeared to think that all lands of equal quality and situation ought to sell for the same price, but in this they were greatly mistaken. He said that improvements and good society gave value to land; if that was not the case, he asked, why were not all the wild lands already sold? Mr. D. said he had heard much said against squatters, as they are called, on the public land, but he did not hesitate in affirming that they had been the means of selling nine-tenths of all the land that had been sold by the government. He said that it was the hardy, enterprising, poor man that first ventured into the wilderness, and suffered all the privations and dangers incident to such an enterprise, who, acting as pioneers, were followed by the more fortunate or wealthy, and too often deprived by them of their homes, and driven further and further into the woods."[2]

In the first session of the Twenty-second Congress, on December 27, 1831, the Illinois representative again brought up the public land question especially in reference to the use of the proceeds of sales of land for internal improvements and for education. He asked that the Committee on Public Lands be instructed to inquire into the expediency of appropriating one-third of the proceeds of the future sales of public lands to objects of internal improvements within the states in which said lands are sold; one-third for the construction of roads and canals from the Missis-

[1] Cong. Debates—21 Cong., 1 Session.
[2] Cong. Debates—21 Cong., 2 Session.

sippi, the Ohio, the lakes and the St. Lawrence to the commercial cities of the Atlantic, the remaining one-third for purposes of education.

His idea was that the proceeds from the sale of lands should be spent in the states in which the land is located. He objected to the present manner of disposing of the proceeds which operated "oppressively to the citizens of the new states, by exacting from them the highest prices for their lands, and spending nearly every cent of the money on the seaboard, in building ships, harbors, etc. It was difficult to impoverish a people by a tax, however high, if the same money was expended among them; but that it was equally difficult to stand for a very long time a perpetual drain, however small, without return of it." The people of Illinois were taxed five days work or five dollars per annum for making roads. The State made appropriations for roads and bridges, the counties had often done the same. All these improvements, however necessary to the convenience and prosperity of the State, were calculated to benefit and give value to the public lands six or eight times as much as it did that of the citizens. The United States owned about six-eighths of all the land in the State. Every principle of justice would require the government to contribute its full share of every expenditure which went directly to increase the value of the public lands, and make them sell. He said that gentlemen both in and out of Congress are greatly mistaken about the real value of the public land in its present wild condition. "How does it sell for one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre," he asked, "unless it receives its value from the improvements made by the money and labor of the settlers?"

Mr. Duncan remarked that Congress had bargained the new states out of any right to tax the public land, and had even gone further by compelling them not to tax for five years land sold by the United States. It was perhaps too late to correct this error, but he hoped it was not too late to do justice.

"He said that the first branch of his proposition was to give one-third of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands for works of the improvement in the States in which they are sold, which would create a fund sufficient to adorn and beautify the country, and would ensure such an increased value to the remaining portions of the land, as to render, through all time, an inexhaustible fund for the accomplishment of the other objects contemplated in his amendment.

He said the second branch of his proposition was to appropriate one-third of the proceeds arising from the sale of those lands to the construction of roads and canals, so equally throughout the Union as to connect this expansive valley with every seaport on the Atlantic, which, he said, independent of the great commercial and military importance to the Government, would do more to unite and harmonize the States than any thing that had been done since the revolution.

As to the third branch of his proposition, which was to appropriate a third of this fund for purposes of education in all the States, he thought it enough to say (as was universally admitted) that the freedom and independence of the Government and the happiness of all depend upon the intelligence and virtue of the people."[1]

It is especially significant to note in this plea for the support of education a repetition of the sentiments he had expressed in the Illinois Senate when he introduced the first public school bill and which later he expressed as Governor of the State.

[1] Cong. Debates—22 Cong., 1 Session.

It is also a pleasure to note in connection with improvements the use of the words "adorn and beautify," an idea to which he recurs in his first message as Governor.

Public lands being again up for discussion on March 27, 1832, Mr. Duncan modestly assured the House "he always felt reluctant to consume a moment of the time of the House" but as it is a question of public lands he continued speaking! The report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office filled him "with feelings of indignation." It had furnished the arguments for the opposition of his colleague on the committee, Mr. Hunt of Vermont, and had convinced him that the officer who made it was unfit to fill the station he held. That officer had used his official station to unjustly injure and insult the very persons over whose particular interests he was appointed to preside. He replied especially to a charge that the privilege of pre-emption to settlers had been abused and had led to speculation by "intruders and trespassers." The charge, if true at all, was so in only a few individual cases and it was unfair to make it against a whole community.

"Most of his life had been spent on the frontier. He knew it to be a fact that all the new States had been settled first by enterprising men, who had gone ahead of the land sales, often of the surveys of them. He had never before heard them denounced as trespassers and intruders; they had never been so regarded in that country, or by this Government. It was true that there had been an old resolution of Congress, near fifty years ago, forbidding such settlements, which had never been regarded, except as a gross absurdity. And, so far from prohibiting, the Government had always encouraged those settlements, by making liberal donations, and grants of the right of pre-emption. From the passage of that resolution up to the present time, many of the most respectable citizens in all the new States had been settlers on the public land. Most of them had commenced poor; they were generally a brave, hardy, and enterprising people, possessing an ardent love of liberty, freedom, and independence; who, so far from speculating upon the bounties of the Government, had on all occasions evinced the most disinterested patriotism and ardent love of country, by encountering every danger, hardship, and fatigue, in defending the frontier during the late war, and the savage invasions and attacks which have always retarded and embarrassed the settlement of that country.

Mr. D. thought it a great mistake to suppose that it was a gracious bounty to allow a man to purchase a tract of public land to include his improvements, at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. He said, if a tract of land was given to such settlers, it would scarcely compensate them for the privations and hardships they must necessarily encounter, who give up all the comforts of society to settle a new country. These settlers had to overcome difficulties which most gentlemen in Congress knew nothing about."

"And if it was true that settlers who were unable to pay for the land had sold these improvements, was it a fit subject for the taunt and attack made by the commissioner, and so earnestly and warmly urged by the gentleman from Vermont? Certainly not. Is it possible that any officer of this Government, or any member of Congress, will seriously urge that the poor man who penetrates the forest, subdues it by his labor, reduces it to cultivation, and builds a house on the public land, shall have nothing for it? What other public officer ever staked his reputation by recommending that the house and improvements of a poor man should be sold to the highest bidder, and the Government pocket the money obtained by the profits of his labor? Yet such is the effect of the commissioner's recommendation. And this is not all. After recommending the sale of the lands, and opposing the grant of pre-emption, he tauntingly and insultingly recommends that these "intruders and trespassers be left to the local tribunals of justice." Sir, said Mr. D., what man acquainted with the brave and enterprising men who have

settled all of our frontier States, can read this report without feelings of indignation?"[1]

Mr. Duncan replied to certain detailed objections that had been raised and made a special plea for making possible the sale of land in forty acre tracts, a provision which "will, as it is mainly intended, benefit the poor, by, enabling every man who could raise fifty dollars to secure a home for his family."

The bill finally passed, 119 to 44.

In the next session the old discussion as to pre-emption was revived by a proposal to extend the act of 1807 to prevent settling on public lands until authorized by law. Mr. Duncan on February 20, 1833, spoke as follows:

"He objected to reviving a law which had remained near forty years a dead letter on the statue books; an act which had never and could never be enforced. Public opinion had long since fixed the seal of reprobation upon any attempt to punish individuals for settling or trespassing as it is called, upon the public lands. Suits had often been brought under this act and the result had universally been, that the Government paid the cost. He was in favor of extending the power of the President to lease the mines west of the Mississippi on the same terms that those east of that river are now leased. Such a policy would receive the sanction of the people; would produce a large revenue; and be the means of preserving the timber, and of husbanding the resources of the country.

He was opposed to the bill on account of the impossibility of enforcing it, the principles it contained, and the vexation and violence which he thought would certainly ensue if an attempt should be made to enforce it, under the policy now pursued in relation to the mines east of the river. He said it was in the power of the Government agent to protect the timber and mines from waste; and when that country is offered for sale, which must soon be done, it would command a high price, after having paid, in rents received from the mines, largely more than the original cost of the whole country. He was not very favorable to the leasing system; it would be much better to sell these mines as soon as possible; and the Committee on the Public Lands agreed with him on that subject, and had reported a bill for selling all the mineral lands east of the Mississippi. But one thing is certain, that the enterprising citizens of that country cannot be kept out of this newly acquired territory; and it was a question now to be settled, whether we should admit every good citizen, or by attempting to exclude all, only admit those who are independent of, and will disregard all laws."[2]

The lead mines around Galena were authorized to be sold by the President in a bill introduced June 5, 1834. On this subject Duncan said:

"The people of Illinois felt a desire that the country should be permanently settled, rather than leased out as it now was. Under the present system, the expense of leasing was said to be nearly equal to the avails from the leases; and, in the meanwhile, the lands were ruined by the operation. Those who leased them, trenched the country in all directions and threw out the clay over the soil, so that, when they gave it up, it was in many places rendered wholly useless for agricultural purposes. Whereas, were the lands sold instead of being leased, they would bring a high price, both on account of the mineral riches they were known to contain, and on account of the fertility of the soil. But after the land was spoiled by the diggings, that covered it like the tracks of so many moles in a garden, it would bring little or nothing. As property of the United States, it was becoming less and less valuable every day."[3]

[1] Cong. Debates, 22 Congress, 1 Session.
[2] Cong. Debates, 22 Congress, 2 Session.
[3] Cong. Debates, 23 Congress, 1 Session.

In the closing days of his eight years of service in Congress Mr. Duncan spoke again on June 13, 1834 on the land issue, his favorite subject. There is something inspiring in the picture of the representative from Illinois in Congress defending consistently all these years the rights of the sturdy settlers in Illinois. It should entitle him to recognition in the histories of his State. His last speech on this subject is similar to others but, as the dust and oblivion of years have rested on this epoch of his life in Congress and as it gives more details of the picture of the early settlers of Illinois, we will quote a part of it:

"He said * * * his constituents were no speculators; those who settled on the public land were generally poor men, or men in moderate circumstances, who live by their honest labor, and had no other view of settling than to secure an independent home for their families. They were no trespassers. They had been encouraged to go on and improve the public lands by the repeated acts and settled policy of the government—a policy well known to be as favorable to the sale of the lands and the public interest as it is just to the settler. It was owing to this wise policy of inducing the hardy sons of the west to encounter all the privations and hardships incident to such an enterprise, that the seven new states in this Union owe their unexampled prosperity. Who, he asked, ever heard of a wealthy man leaving ease, luxury, and society, and going into the forest, as our enterprising settlers had often done, at every sacrifice, encountering the wild beasts and savages, and depending for the first year or two upon the rifle for a precarious subsistence? He never knew an instance; and he believed if the vast valley of the Mississippi had never been settled until those able to purchase the land should become the pioneers, that it would not have reached its present state of improvement in a century to come. He considered it the interest of the whole Union to adopt a liberal policy in disposing of the public domain. To build up great and prosperous communities, he said was, infinitely more important than all the gain that ever had or would be received into the treasury from the sale of these lands. But, he said, his friend from Alabama (Mr. Clay) had plainly shown that nothing had been gained for many years by selling the lands at auction; it had added nothing to the treasury, though it had some times been the means of oppression to the settlers. He said he considered the present as a question whether this government is willing to sell the poor man's improvement to the highest bidder, and put the profits of his labor into the public treasury, which is now full to over-flowing. He could not believe honorable gentlemen, understanding the subject, could ever consent to such gross injustice. Much objection, he said, had been made to this bill on account of an idea which had been suggested, that some persons might make speculations by taking up mill-seats, ferries, etc. He had no doubt some instances of the kind might occur; but in all probability, if this advantage was not secured to the settler, it would be reaped by a combination of speculators, who generally contrived to pay no more than $1.25 per acre to the government. Mills and ferries, he said, are necessary to the settlement of the country, and those who first establish them are entitled to great favor; and no improvements could be of more benefit to the public."[1]

He believed it would be found to the best interests of the government and permanent improvement of the country, to allow the settlers to select their homes as soon as the land was surveyed.

On June 14, 1834, Mr. Duncan writes to the Alton Spectator[2] from the House of Representatives:

"The pre-emption bill has just passed and only waits the President's signature to become a law. This bill is more favorable to our settlers than any ever passed. It revives the act of 1830 and continues in force for two years

[1] Cong. Debates, 23 Congress, 1 Session.
[2] Published July 1, 1834.

from this time which will give the settlers, virtually, 2 years to pay for their lands, both on lands now subject to entry at private sale and those which have not been offered at public auction unless they shall sooner be sold by the proclamation of the President.

This act gives the right of pre-emption to all who are settlers at its passage and extends the act to those persons who were settlers on the public land in 1829 and who were deprived of their right by the construction placed on the law by the Secretary of the Treasury. We had a warm debate in the House of Representatives which lasted six hours but it passed by a large majority.

The question of internal improvements was constantly to the fore during Jackson's administration. To the representative of a sparsely settled frontier State like Illinois, knowing the isolation of the communities, the difficulties of travel and of bringing the produce of the farms to market, the importance of a National road connecting the different parts of the country was almost a necessity. The taxes of the State, with the government owning eight-tenths of the land and not allowing the land to be taxed for five years after it was sold, would be inadequate to build the necessary roads for many years. Mr. Duncan does not seem to have gone the lengths of some of the politicians of the day in advocating government assistance, but he asks for a liberal interpretation of the law.

We find a few speeches on this subject in the Congressional Debates.

March 1, 1831, Mr. Duncan spoke against the toll taxes of the National road in Ohio, which would exempt her own citizens and throw all the cost of keeping the road in repair upon the people residing in the states west of Ohio:

"It would drive the constituents, and all the people west of the Ohio, from this road as they could not and would not pay so unjust a tax especially as the road was made by compact and out of the funds of Indiana, Illinois and Missouri as well as those of Ohio. He could see no hope for his constituents except to tax the citizens of Missouri traveling to the Atlantic cities. This tax would make it impossible for his constituents to drive their stock on this road."[1]

The bill passed and toll gates were permitted.

On June 17, 1834 the question of the Cumberland road came up and Mr. Duncan said:

"It was a high, a vital object to connect this almost unbounded country by roads and public highways and especially was it the duty of the government to overcome great natural obstructions—such as separate the west from the eastern section of the country. Such improvement would make us a united, prosperous and happy people."[2]

The last speech of Mr. Duncan recorded in the Congressional Debates was on June 24, 1834, an amendment proposed by him to continue the act incorporating the present bank of the United States for twenty years with certain limitations and regulations. "He rose to support his amendment with great reluctance at a moment when members were preparing for their journeys home."

"He was governed by no feelings either favorable or unfavorable to the present bank or its directors, in bringing forward his bill; he had no personal acquaintance with any of them; he did not owe the bank; he had not one cent of interest in it; nor was any one of his friends, so far as he knew,

[1] Cong. Debates, 21 Congress, 2 Session.
[2] Cong. Debates, 23 Congress, 1 Session.

in the slightest degree interested in it. He could not be charged with having any political object in view in introducing his amendment; he believed every member of the House would acquit him of such a charge; he was governed by no such motives; his object was now, as it had been on all occasions, when called upon to act in that House, to do the best for his constituents and country, according to his judgment, without reference to party. He had taken part, it was true, in some of the political struggles in the country, and would probably do so again, but his conduct, as a Representative, never had been, and never should be, governed by any such considerations. He cared less for who was in power than for the manner in which it was used by those in whose hands it was placed, he had never asked or received a favor of the government, and never would while he was honored with a seat in Congress.

"He was opposed to any plan making the State or local banks the treasury of the nation; it could answer no good purpose. The million and a half of dollars of broken local bank notes now lying useless in the treasury, with the numerous banks which are daily breaking or stopping payment, had taught him they were wholly incompetent to answer the purposes of government as fiscal agents, but admitting them to be safe, who does not know that they cannot furnish a sound and uniform currency? He was alarmed at the array of local banks springing into existence in several of the states last winter, after the removal of the deposits, and when the downfall of the United States Bank was considered probable. It reminded him of the host of spurious banks which rose up, like mushrooms, in a night, after the winding up of the old bank of the United States. From 1812 to 1818, he said, the country was literally inundated with their paper, until the best judges of that day could not tell a good note from a bad one, or whether the bank had a location in fact or only in the imagination, as very many of them were the production of speculators on the public credulity. Hundreds, nay thousands of poor men were swindled and suffered much then from the dreadful derangement of the currency, and he was greatly surprised, after so much experience, and with such an example before us, to see so large a party in this country, and in that House, disposed to place the currency in the same fearful situation. He knew the evils too well to give such a measure any support.

But sir, said Mr. D., if the United States Bank is put down, the embarrasment to the west will be two fold. Their sales of produce are made in the south, at New Orleans, where specie, which is too cumbersome to carry, or the local currency, must be taken in payment, and their purchases are made in the north. Thus subjected to a double discount upon their money, it must fall heavily upon the products of the country. But this is not all. The large cities contain all or nearly all the capital employed in carrying on commerce, and they will receive no note of the west except at a very heavy discount. This was the case in the days of unsound currency previously mentioned, and would certainly be the case again. But, sir, said Mr. D., the evil does not stop here. While there is no uniformity or confidence in the currency, people can neither travel nor emigrate to the west. No man will venture to sell his property in one of the old States for local bank notes, and start to the west, uncertain how soon the bank would break, or being certain, as he would be, that he must change his money with a broker at the line of each State through which he was to pass. Such a condition of affairs must retard the settlement and improvement of all the new States again, as it did from 1819 to 1826, a period of the greatest embarrassment he ever knew, and which was occasioned by the previous deranged state of the currency. The general confusion which, in his opinion, would certainly grow out of the proposed destruction of the United States Bank, presented to his mind a fearful picture of the future condition of the country.

"He said some such measure as his was necessary to give relief to the country from the pressure now felt, and which must, in his opinion, inevitably increase, if the present bank should be compelled to wind up and collect in its fifty-four millions of dollars of outstanding debts. No new bank, he

said, can be created until after March, 1836, and, of course, more than two years must elapse before a substitute can be put into operation. This was one of the reasons why he preferred to recharter, under proper restrictions, the present bank; but this was far from being the only one: his bill proposed to distribute nearly two-thirds of the stock among the states, and he knew, by observation, that the high credit of this bank would secure to the stockholders a larger dividend and more certain profit upon their capital, than any new bank, with a prudent charter, could possibly do; and, by making the States interested, additional stability and character would be given to this institution.

"He was of opinion that Congress should have the most unlimited power to investigate all the books, accounts, and official acts of the bank and its officers, and had endeavored, by a provision in his amendment, to secure that right in the fullest extent, and punish any officer or director of the bank who should oppose such an investigation. But, sir, said Mr. D., suppose all the dangers to exist, and the abuses, as alleged, to be true, was this an argument against the value and importance of the bank? What created being or institution, he asked, had ever existed, that was capable of doing much good, that was not also capable of doing great harm? Was it not the persons selected for the management of the bank, and not the bank itself, that had given such offence? If its officers had acted improperly they could be displaced; it was to his mind no argument against any institution, and especially to one that had performed so many important services for the government— an institution which was in fact the treasury, and the best possible treasury that could be established—an institution, which kept the public money safely, paid it out on the order of the Treasurer, without risk or charge, at any point required; which had paid a bonus to the United States of one million five hundred thousand dollars, and by his bill was to pay two millions more for the use of the public deposites and the benefits of the charter. He asked, has it not done more than all this for the country, in furnishing the best currency in the world, better than gold or silver, for all commercial purposes, its notes being preferred in most cases, and especially in large sums, to either? Had it not extended the commerce of the country beyond all conception, by furnishing the means of carrying on and enlarging trade? Built our steamboats, which, in proportion as they gave facility and cheapness of transportation, had increased the value of the products in the west? He would not say that all of the prosperity which had recently spread over and blessed every portion of the great valley of the west was owing to the means furnished by this bank for the improvement of the country and carrying on commerce, or to the uniform and sound currency it had supplied; but much, very much, of it was.

Mr. Duncan suggested that if the alleged misconduct of some few of the officers were a sound argument against the bank itself, the same might apply to other departments of government, but no one would seriously think of abolishing the Post Office Department in consequence of the abuses charged to exist there.

"It is the duty of wise legislators, he said, to preserve the government pure in all its parts, and, as experience pointed out defects or abuses, to rectify them, and guard, by timely checks and limitations, against their recurrence, and by every possible means to keep the political and moneyed institutions as distinct as possible.

He regarded the bank or a bank of the United States as intimately connected with, and in fact a branch of the government; though but remotely under its control, it was almost as valuable, in the performance of its peculiar functions, as any other department, and more intimately connected with all the wants and interests of society. But being an institution that required the jealous care and support of the National Legislature, it should have nothing to do with politics or political partisans; nor should they, under any circumstances, be permitted to control or molest it while acting within its proper sphere. The political wheel, he said, was in motion, and

no one could tell what party might be placed in power by its next revolution. If the party favorable to the present bank shall succeed, they, like most parties elected on a particular question, may recharter without those wholesome guards and checks which experience has shown to be necessary. On the other hand, if another party rises into power, much is to be feared from the establishment of a political bank, managed by and subservient to the ambitious views of government officers—a power more to be dreaded than the brandished sword of a tyrant. The one warns you of danger to come, while the other embraces but to corrupt and subdue.

The present he thought a most auspicious moment for settling this great question. The parties were nearly balanced, and nothing could be done by either except by the consent of the other, on the principles of a compromise. He appealed to the patriotism of both parties to settle this important question of the currency without reference to former prejudices. It should have nothing to do, he said, with politics; and now, before the candidates for the presidency were brought out, he thought a bank might be established on such a basis as to secure the confidence and good will of every party and every citizen in the country.

He had carefully reviewed all the opinions of the President, and believed his bill or amendment met and obviated all of his objections to the present bank charter, and could not doubt, should the amendment pass, it would meet with his approval. This, however, was to him a secondary consideration; he had discharged his duty according to his best judgment, and would leave other public servants to do the same."[1]

With his vote in favor of re-chartering the United States Bank, the independence of Mr. Duncan's views and actions led to a practical withdrawal of his adherence to the Jackson party as then constituted.

After the adjournment of Congress in July 1834, Mr. Duncan was detained in the east by illness in his family. The election for Governor occurring in August he allowed his name to be used as a candidate and received 17,349 votes to 10,229 votes for William Kinney and 4,320 for Robert K. McLaughlin, Duncan's uncle. He was the only Governor of Illinois elected without electioneering or the making of speeches. Mr. Duncan resigned from Congress and returned to Jacksonville with his family in the fall of 1834. Up to the last year of his service he had been the sole Congressman from Illinois. In the last Congress he was one of the three representatives from Illinois, being elected from the northern district.

CHAPTER IV.

Governor of Illinois, 1834–1838.

After an absence of eight years in Congress, Mr. Duncan returned to Illinois in the fall of 1834 to take up his duties as governor. Some old letters and notes make clearer his relation with state politics and the gradual growth of his dissatisfaction as to Jackson's policies and the final severance of his relationship with the Jackson party.

The year 1834 was a confused period in Illinois politics, as previous to this time, factions had formed around leaders or groups of leaders. A contemporary notes: "It is difficult to catch the hang of parties here for although there is considerable party feeling there is very little party organization."[2] Mr. Duncan was not alone in his change of political

[1] Cong. Debates, 23 Congress, 1 Session.
[2] Dr. Finley from Jacksonville, Illinois, letter to Representative Duncan, May 27, 1834. In family papers

views. There was a small but strong minority who from the ardent admiration of General Jackson, the man who "was to reform all abuses," came a disappointment in his acts as President especially when he came under the influence of his "kitchen cabinet" and Van Buren.

Before the inauguration of President Jackson, Mr. Duncan notes in his diary "Called to see the President, He says he will remove no officer on account of his political opinions, unless he has used his office for the purpose of electioneering. He appears liberal and I agree perfectly with his views." In his note book Duncan writes:

"Policy of the Jackson party up till 1830 and—

1. One Presidential term.
2. Economy.
3. Retrenchment.
4. Reform of all abuses.
5. Prevent officers interfering in elections.
6. Hold officers to strict accountability."

When Jackson announced his candidacy for a second term and more so when he selected his successor, Van Buren, it was self evident, from previous knowledge of the man, that Duncan would never accept, against his judgement and conscience, the dictates of the Jackson party as it had now become.

In a letter published in the Western Observer, June 14th, 1831, he explains his views:

"Many complain that I have not sufficiently supported the party in my votes in Congress. To such I would say, I have investigated every subject upon which I have been called upon to act, with a sincere desire of obtaining correct information. My votes have been governed by my best judgment, and an ardent wish to promote the true interest and honor of the country, without regard to what either party supported or opposed. Having been led to observe in early life that a man who had firmness and independence enough to do right in high party times though condemned by the ambitious and selfish demagogue is certain to be sustained by the patriotic and honorable men of all parties. I was at no loss what course to pursue when I entered Congress.

That man who is so weak or so wicked as to vote under the influence of party feelings, or party discipline, will be compelled almost every day to abandon his principles if he has ever assumed any—the interests of his constituents—his own honor—and his independence—and I envy them not the praise they may receive from any party."[1]

Mr. Duncan "had maintained a policy of independence towards Jackson's measures for which in 1831 he had been criticised at home. He voted to pass the Mayville turnpike bill over Jackson's veto."[2] However this criticism of his independent attitude by those who still supported Jackson did not prevent his being re-elected to Congress in 1832 or his election as governor in 1834.

The debates of the last session of Congress that Mr. Duncan attended, are interesting as showing the trend of his votes irrespective of party lines. On February, 1834, he voted with Adams and the Whigs for the extension of pensions to revolutionary soldiers. In March he voted with the administration to "appoint a Committee of Ways and

[1] Quoted from the ananymous life, 1840, in family papers.
[2] Centennial Hist. of Ill. Pease, Vol. II, page 143.

Means to inquire into the expediency of a plan accompanied by a bill to reduce the revenue to the necessary expenses of the government." In June he voted for the re-chartering of the Bank of the United States. Here came his final break with the Democratic party.

Later great capital was made by the Jackson men of this "defection" of Duncan's and he is spoken of as a "traitor," etc., to his party. He was simply an independent thinker with the courage of his convictions, a man who refused to follow blindly party leadership.

Ford has written of this period more graphically than any contemporary man and as he was a political opponent of Duncan his views of the latter's change of party cannot be accused of flattery, or partiality.

"A public man has a perfect right to his own opinions and predilections. Governor Duncan was a brave, honest man, a gentleman in his intercourse with society, and possessed a rare talent for conciliating affection and inspiring confidence. But his great error was in becoming attached to a party and a cause, in the first instance, without knowing the principles by which he was governed. Thousands of others were in the same predicament, many of whom, both before and after Governor Duncan, left as he did, when the Jackson party began to be developed. * * * Without asserting that Governor Duncan was right in his change, for such would not be my opinion, yet it would seem from his example and many others that it would be better for politicians, if they could reverse the order of their existence, come into the world in their old age and go out when young. He is to take a party name and, however, much he may afterwards become enlightened, or parties shift ground, he is never to change, under penalty of being branded as a traitor to his party. But perhaps this is one of the means appointed by providence and implanted in man's nature to keep the opinion of the governing party united and give some stability to the councils of Republican government."[1]

The gradual affiliation with the Whig party as more nearly representing his views offered a target to his political opponents that continued during future campaigns till his death in 1844 and that has affected his reputation to an astonishingly important degree in the history of Illinois. The long life of service to the State and a marked integrity of character, is lost sight of in view of this change of party affiliations, or rather the chance it gave his political opponents to warp the acts of Duncan's life, both public and private.

The four following letters give an interesting, gossipy picture of life in Illinois and especially of the political situation before the election of Governor in 1834. They were written by a cousin, James C. Finley, who had come from the east to take charge of Mr. Duncan's affairs in Jacksonville while he was in Congress. He speaks of himself as a mere observer, asking no political favors.

The letters begin with the building of the Duncan house in Jacksonville which was started in the fall of 1833. The house known as Elm Grove is still standing in the midst of the half circle of stately elm trees, planted by Mr. Duncan.

On November 9, 1833, the masons were going on very well with the foundations.

"I send you by mail the last number of the Illinois Patriot, in which you will find a very ungenerous and insidious attack upon you about the United States Bank and the Patriotic money. I remonstrated with Edwards, [Editor of a paper in Jacksonville] upon the propriety and injustice of

[1] Ford, History of Illinois, pages 75-77.

associating the two but his hands appear to be tied by a small faction here who are very bitter against you and who are probably urged on by men who would like to preserve some terms with you. The report has been very industriously circulated here that you announced yourself hostile to the bank a few days before you left Jacksonville. Judge Evans asserts that, last winter, while you were holding out to your friends here that you were in favor of the bank, he heard you say to President Jackson, that you concurred with him in his objections to the bank. He and Bredan are very noisy upon your inconsistency about the bank. Coddington says he saw a roll of the Patriotic notes in Wilkinson's store as large as his arm, and Edwards says he is told that you pay your agents 6 per cent for passing them off. The idea they are trying to pass upon the people is this: That you say you see so much corruption in the politics of the country, that you consider the cause of the Republic desperate and they think you are disposed to come in for your share of the spoils: they say further, that the Patriotic bank will lend you a large amount of money, say perhaps $100,000 at a very low interest—3 per cent—perhaps for nothing, for the sake of getting their notes in circulation, and that you, for the sake of producing a scarcity of money and compelling the people to take them, will use your influence to put down the U. S. Bank and that you have put out the present small amount as a feeler to see how the thing will take. Hardin has taken the matter up warmly in your behalf and written a reply."

On November 30, 1833, Dr. Finley writes:

"* * * Crawled up to the post office to hear the news and as the mail has not closed I will take time to add a few more lines to a letter I have already put in the office. I there found a pretty considerable crowd of people and among them Evans and Edwards. The former was very polite and affiable and the subject of the bank being introduced he expressed his regret that his name had been dragged into the controversy and gave such a version of the conversation and controversy as at once cleared you from every suspicion of duplicity in relation to the bank business. When I told Edwards of his version and reminded him of the caution I had given him about giving credit to so improbable a tale, he blushed like a damsel of 18 when her sweetheart first popped the question. He affected a great deal of candor, however, and promised to retract everything that cannot be sustained. * * * There is nothing kept secret here and men appear to take a pride in revealing both their own secrets and the secrets of their friends."

On December 27, 1833, Dr. Finley writes:

"Cassels saw the man today with whom he contracted for the hewed timber and says that they are all ready for delivery and will be on the ground by the first of January. The additional timbers requisite for the new plan will delay them but a few days. I am very much afraid that delay will arise from Johnson's disposition to procrastinate. He now promises to commence on Monday and run the mill night and day until your bill is complete.

"As regards your reply to Edwards I am at a loss to know whether to publish it or not. The attack was evidently gotten up by one or the other of the two parties here—the Prosser or the Lockwood party—for the purpose of intimidating you on the bank question or forcing you to take sides. Poor Edwards of whom it is difficult to say whether he is most the object of compassion or contempt, has been evidently a mere automaton in the affair; and now that his advisers are disposed to shrink from the position of principals, feels himself in a most unpleasant attitude. He now wishes to say that the publication was intended as an act of kindness to you in order that surmises and insinuations which were secretly circulating much to your injury might be brought before the public in an attitude that would give you a fair opportunity of meeting them. An office of charity, so unthankful, as I intimated to him today, that a prudent man would very willingly leave the conferring of it to others. Mrs. Edwards says that she

opposed his having anything to do with it until she made herself sick about it.

"The active movers have been Gillett, Gorden, Hedenburgh, Bredan and Forsyth and Dr. Jones, the most insolent, self-conceited and contemptable ————that ever passed current in decent society. Gillett, a strange fellow. He appears to be, and I believe is, your personal friend and would be happy to do anything to serve you, but he probably thinks that he has a large pecuniary interest in the rechartering of the bank and that he has reason to complain of you for disappointing your constituents on the subject of the bank. Forsyth is "the respectable merchant" referred to in the Banner who said you offered them money if they would circulate it in the country but not to pay debts at Pittsburgh. Besides the clamor raised by the politicians, the merchants have pretty generally taken a stand against the money, principally because they supposed it had been placed in the hands of other merchants to whom it would give facilities for transacting business that they would not possess. Commercial jealousy therefore may reasonably be placed to the account of much that has been said.

"All persons here are prodigiously anxious to ascertain the political course you mean to adopt. Some from one motive, some from another and some from no motive at all. It appears to be the intention of all to let you run for Governor without opposition. If you side with them they are willing to receive you with open arms but they intend to hold themselves as loosely connected with you in order that if you take sides against them they may take advantage of the difficulties which surround the Gubernatorial office in this State to break you down and deprive you of what they suppose to be the ultimate object of your ambition—a seat in the United States Senate.

"As we are now on the subject of your political relations, I will remark that intimations have been made to me that an attempt is being made to injure you by secretly circulating a report about the Meridosia lots which is represented as being very much to your discredit. It is said that you gave no consideration for these lots and therefore your taking them can be considered in no other light than as a bribe to do that which you were already bound to do by the relation between you and your constituents. The individual who related this to me (as an act of friendship to you to put you on your guard) named Hackett as one of his authorities, who told him if he would call at his house he would exhibit to him the most satisfactory evidence of the fact. This is one of the things Edwards alluded to in his publication as something much more prejudicial to you than anything which had yet appeared. As an evidence that the purchase of the lots on your part was not bona fide, it is alleged, that the contract was to be null and void if the preemption right was not obtained within a certain time. I declined making any inquiries about it, as my informant wished, because I saw nothing to be gained by doing so, but I mention it to you because I know that great pains have been taken to obtain certificates to..... [torn] when the time comes. I saw Hackett a few days ago and inquired about the deeds. He had neither received them nor knew why they were not made out.

"We have had Mills here lately electioneering, Williams, too, a member of the Senate from the Military District, called here on his way from Vandalia and was very anxious to organize an Anti-VanBuren party upon the principals of the bank, the Land Bill, etc. Jones and he have written to Casey upon the subject and would have liked to have written to you upon the subject, if they could have taken the liberty. They promise to build you up a party and establish you a popularity that will last as long as you live.

"But I have so much to say about politics that I am forgetting what I doubt not will be much more interesting to you—your private business. How high do you want the windows of the first story from the floor—I saw Hawkins yesterday going after some of your cattle which had been strayed since you left here. * * * The scarcity of money in this country is unexampled."

January 24th, 1834, Dr. Finley writes:

"As Hackett was disposed to be very surly and Hardin was absent in Kentucky I got Walter Jones to inquire into the cause of the delay in the acknowledgements of those deeds. He caught Hackett at Brochenborough's discussing the matter in full Divan. He told him that there was no consideration paid for the lots and that Mrs. A. T. C. was unwilling to convey their dower. Furthermore he stated that a fellow by the name of Stetes, who claimed the right of preemption, is making arrangements to commence suit against the whole of you for the whole of the land."

"* * * I told Hawkins nothing about your being willing to give him additional wages. He is very attentive to your interests and anxious to secure your approbation. His labors, it is true, were very great for a few weeks while he was gathering in the corn. * * * Your cattle, horses and mules are in very fine order. Your Kentucky stud that you bought of Price departed this life very suddenly a few days ago. We have inquired everywhere for stock hogs but have only been able to find ten.

The Springfield papers have sent some a proof sheet of your letter in advance of their paper. The whole thing has so perfectly died away that I thought it perfectly unnecessary to publish your letter to me. Jones is a fool, so perfectly made up in every joint, and the public consider it unnecessary to answer him. Poor Edwards has suffered a thousand deaths, and is so humble and penitent that I am glad you touched him lightly. He has a hundred times requested me to explain his feelings to you and tell you that all he published was intended as a pure act of friendship—merely to appraise you of the rumors that were afloat. If the opinion of the leading politicians can be relied upon you are very certain to get three-fourths of the votes of this country, although the scullions of the Kitchen Cabinet will all influence against you. * * * I could tell you of other things equally curious, but you have seen too much of this business for it to have aught of interest to you. It is fortunate for this part of Illinois that there are too many aspirants for office for the present state of things to continue. Prossen and Turney and a host of men of their level are aspiring to Congress, and, because May has pre-empted the ground as the VanBuren candidate, are determined to come out against the whole concern.

By the way why has your name never been formally announced as Governor?[1] The Editors say that your name has not been announced and some of your enemies are very industrious in conveying the impression that it is your intention to withdraw from the field in favor of your uncle. Edwards and Jones are both anxious to come out for you. Will you permit them to announce you? * * * The pressure on the money market has been very severe and I regret to say that I have not been able to collect any for you although I have made considerable effort to do so.

The Sangamon Journal has taken a very scurrilous notice of your letter and published an article, also, intimating that you will not be a candidate in opposition to your uncle, and that Kinney and McLaughlin would be the only candidates for Governor. This article is signed "A friend to McLaughlin" but it doubtless comes from a friend of May's who wishes either to make you occupy such a position as will remove him from all apprehension that you may oppose him or to injure your popularity, by leading the people to suppose you mean to play a double game upon them. Evans of this county, is to be the candidate for Lieutenant Governor.

"In speaking of the appointment of your brother you say that it was made in opposition to your recommendation. This, all who are acquainted with your uniform policy will readily believe, but some color is given to a different statement by an assertion that you told Weatherfield you were authorized to make the appointment and had the commission with you. It may never be used against you, but if W. is hostile to your election it will perhaps be prudent to be on your guard.

[1] The Alton Spectator for May 1, 1834, gives official notice of the candidates for the August election: "For Governor: Joseph Duncan, Robert K. McLaughlin, William Kinney."

Mr. Duncan's reply to the attack of the two editors, to which Dr. Finley refers, is dated Washington City, Dec. 16, 1833. He explains the circumstances under which he had borrowed a small sum from the Patriotic Bank, and to settle the question as to whether or not he had misled Jackson on his position on the U. S. Bank, Duncan went directly to the President: "* * * In addition to my own clear knowledge that it is false I called on the President a few days since and asked him, in presence of General John Carr, a member of Congress from Indiana, how he had always understood my opinions to be on the question of re-chartering of the United States Bank—to which he replied that so far as was known to him, they had always been in favor of rechartering it, and said, though we had differed, he always regarded it as an honest difference of opinion, etc."[1]

February 15, 1834, Dr. Finley writes:

"Great efforts are being made to bring General Henry out in opposition to you for Governor. Other instruments are said to be at work to bring him out in opposition to May for Congress. Who are the movers in these things I know not."

The latter part of the following letter is important as a contemporaneous view of the confused state of politics.

On May 27, 1834, Dr. Finley asks:

"Have you any idea when Congress will adjourn or when you will be home? Dunlap has two fine young mules, a year old that he offers for thirty dollars a piece. Do you want any more?

In politics we have a perfect calm. Every man is going for himself (with the exception of one or two who go for their party) and avoiding excitement as far as possible. It appears to be a very general opinion here that you will not receive less than three-fourths of the votes both of this and of Sangamon and so strong is this impression said to be that although the friends of Kinney were sometime back pretty tolerably noisy, not a candidate for any office ventured to electioneer for him openly.

Mills is here very confident of success and May is expected here daily. The latter trying to ride Jackson and the former trying to saddle him with VanBuren. With what success I know not. It is difficult to catch the hang of parties here, for although there is considerable party feeling there is very little party organization. The Clay party go for you very universally. Of the Jackson candidates Henry and Cloud go for you. Wy.....[rest of name torn], Weatherford profess to be neutral and May complains bitterly that his opponents try to sew him up with VanBuren. So much for politics.

I will be very much obliged to you to send me the African Repository, commencing with the present volume, and the last annual report."

Into the midst of this political upheaval and to a state greatly increased in population, rapidly losing its pioneer spirit and becoming identified in political and commercial interests with the East, the newly elected Governor returned after eight years in Congress.

The Legislature convened in Vandalia December 1, 1834.

A contemporary describes the scene, "Yesterday, last night, all night nearly this town has been a scene of busy, buzzing bargaining, etc. It is said 150 persons, some from the most distant parts of the State [are seeking] for the appointments of Sergeant at Arms of the Senate and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives.[2]

[1] Alton American, Jan. 30, 1834, copied from Sangamo Journal.

[2] D. J. Baker to Kane December 1, 1834, copy Library of University of Illinois.

Another contemporary writes on December 20, 1834:

"The political character of the Legislature of Illinois may properly be estimated to be about 60 for the administration and 21 against it."[1]

In his first message Governor Duncan speaks of being absent from the State "a greater part of the last seven or eight years on public duties."

Like most messages the recommendations are general but they show his continued interested in land questions and education. He speaks of Illinois as being among the first states to abolish imprisonment for debt, and feels "that the time has now arrived to continue this policy still further" and to exempt the homestead from execution "so as to secure the families of the unfortunate against those casualities and misfortunes to which we are all liable."

Most fitting for the man who introduced the first bill to provide for public schools in Illinois, his first message should discuss education, recommending that the fund of over one hundred thousand dollars which the State then possessed for education should be divided up, by a system to be devised, and applied to the purposes of education leaving "to those who come after the rich revenues to be derived from the lands, canals and other improvements, to form a permanent fund for the purposes of education." He also urges the establishment of colleges. He advocates the "setting apart the entire revenue arising from it [the canal] for the promotion of education."

The distinction he draws between the general government allowing pre-emption right on public lands, which he advocated during his service in Congress, and the State, "under a mistaken view of the object and condition of the grant and of what was due the public and the nation who gave them" granting pre-emption claims to the settlers on seminary lands, shows his regard for law. "It should be the duty of the Legislature on the contrary faithfully to execute the trust confided to them and to sell those lands which were given for the common benefit of our citizens, for the full value which their quality or location may impart to them."

One of his arguments in favor of the beginning of a general system of internal improvements seems to have shown foresight. The State was at present so sparsely settled that the "road, trackways, railroads and canals, can be made straight between most of the important points with very little expense and difficulty, compared with what will result, if their location is postponed until lands increase in value and settlements are formed."

My attention was caught by the use of a word in this message and also in other speeches, which in the pioneer days is unusual. There was much said of "virtue, enlightenment, liberty," but here our eye is caught by the simple word "beauty." Improvements for "the convenience, beauty and commerce of our country." It is a thought to which we are but just awakening in recent years—to preserve the beauty of the land along with the utilitarian improvements. The idea was evidently a definite one in Governor Duncan's mind as he had used it three years before

[1] Greenup to Kane December 20, 1834, copy Library of University of Illinois.

in a speech in Congress on internal improvements, reference to which has already been made.

It makes one realize the distance we have travelled in inventions to read that the Governor in 1834 considered canals as more useful than railroads, which "are kept in repair at a very heavy expense and will last but about fifteen years." This was written in the year New York was about to construct her first railroad from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. On November 8, 1838, just before Governor Duncan retired to private life, he rode on "the first locomotive that ever turned a wheel in the Mississippi Valley" a distance of eight miles from Meredosia on the "Northern Cross Line" which was to connect the Illinois River with Springfield via Jacksonville.[1] To the man who had travelled by boat and on horseback up and down the State when it was a wilderness this must have been a wonderful experience, the beginning of a new and great era.

The next subject Governor Duncan took up in his message, was one that he knew from actual experience, "The ease with which our prairies may be brought under cultivation." "The fertility of the soil which yields a rich product, its lightness renders it easy of cultivation, while its depth almost certainly secures the prudent and industrious farmer against those vicissitudes of the season which so frequently destroy the crops in other countries." The canal connecting the Great Lakes with the Mississippi was to provide an outlet for the farm produce raised in Illinois. He advocated a steamboat canal, a plan which the engineers of today regard as the only practical one.

He warns that the "utility and success, as well as its expense [of the canal work] will depend upon the kind of improvement that the Legislature shall adopt and upon the plan of its construction."

With a realization of the troubles ahead he closes his message with:

"That we should be divided in opinion on these great questions of power and public policy, which have recently divided, and which are agitating the whole nation, and threaten to shake its center, is no more than is to be expected.

In conclusion permit me again to urge that no party spirit shall be permitted to distract and interrupt our councils, or to interfere with our duties and obligations to those we represent."[2]

From this distance of time, one cannot help but admire the imagination of these men who built for the future of Illinois, a future that exceeds their dreams. I quote from the Nicolay-Hay Life of Lincoln:

"They addressed themselves at once to the work required of them and soon devised, with reckless and unreasoning haste, a scheme of railroads covering the vast uninhabited prairies as with a gridiron. The scheme also provided for the improvement of every stream in the State on which a child's shingle-boat could sail; and to the end that all objections should be stifled on the part of those neighborhoods which had neither railroads nor rivers, a gift of two hundred thousand dollars was voted for them, and with this sop they were fain to be content and not trouble the general joy. To accomplish this stupendous scheme, the Legislature voted eight million dollars, to be raised by loan. Four millions were also voted to complete the canal. These sums, monstrous as they were, were still ridiculously inadequate to the purpose in view. But while the frenzy lasted there was no consideration of cost or possibilities. These vast works were voted without

[1] Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois, Bateman and Selby, p. 360.
[2] Senate Journal, Dec. 1, 1834.

estimates, without surveys, without any rational consideration of their necessity."[1]

The State was without debt and with these visions of the future "the great plenty of money had made every one morally drunk."[2]

Governor Duncan's first nominations were confirmed by the Senate, but when on February 12, 1835, he followed the nomination of Edward Coles as President of the Board of Canal Commissioners with that of John H. Hardin as Commissioner and Treasurer, the latter was defeated by a vote of 11 to 12. Later William Linn was confirmed for the office 10 to 9.[3] Governor Coles was at this time in Philadelphia and was appointed a special representative of the State to visit eastern cities and negotiate the loan. He was unable to do this without the credit of the State. Later a law was passed, authorizing a loan of half a million dollars on the credit of the State for the building of the canal. Governor Duncan went east in 1836 and negotiated this loan. He paid his own expenses, "refusing to receive compensation therefor, because he believed in so doing he would be virtually offering violence to the Constitution of the State."[4]

Only a few family letters of this period have been saved and unfortunately they tell of the meeting with relatives, and old friends instead of the business and political side of the journey. For instance he writes from Philadelphia, April 10, 1838; "I saw Governor Coles last evening and went with him to a literary club where I met many of the first citizens and spent a delightful evening." Here met the two men who had framed the first law creating public schools in Illinois in 1825, who had been rival candidates for Congress in 1830, and now were both interested in the canal project. If the historian could but have heard their reminiscences and their views on the questions of the day!

Governor Duncan went on to New York where a few items in his letters show that domestic troubles existed then as now: April 20, 1836, "I will do all I can to send you some servants. R. Dyson expects 500 emigrants in one of his ships and thinks I can get some to suit."

April 23; "I have partly sold some of my land and am in great hopes something can be done with the Railroad. If money was more plenty there would be no doubt. I dine at home today, the second time since I came. Yesterday I had three invitations and am engaged several days next week, so you see I am likely to be well fed." The servants did not materialize but he is not deterred from extending western hospitality, as he writes a few days later, May 8; "Mr. Alexander Hamilton and his wife start to Illinois in their own carriage in a few days on a trip of pleasure. I have invited them to visit you and remain in our house while they stay in Jacksonville. As they are the first people here I know you will be pleased to entertain them. I have dined with them twice since I have been here. They live on Broadway in very fine style."[5]

May 29, 1836: "I hope to start tomorrow—I have taken a seat in the stage at Albany for Tuesday morning and have a stateroom on the

[1] Nicolay-Hay, Lincoln, Vol. I, page 135.
[2] Ford, History of Illinois, page 15.
[3] Senate Journal, 1834-35.
[4] Alton Telegraph, April 23, 1842.
[5] There is preserved in the family a time-stained copy of the "Geographical View of the World" with the inscription "Colonel Alexander Hamilton to Henry St. Clair Duncan of Illinois, aged 7 years, New York, 6 October, 1837."

steamboat Michigan which leaves Buffalo on the 4th of June for Chicago. I was never so heartily tired of New York. Nothing is so much talked of as a scarcity of money and as I came to raise money, it is of course a disagreeable subject to me."

On July 4, 1836, work on the canal was begun with a great celebration at Canalport on the Chicago River. Before the close of Governor Duncan's administration the entire line of canal was under contract except 23 miles between Dresden and Marseilles. Financial difficulties augmented by unwise extension of other internal improvements in the State, also by the financial panic of 1837 and the failure of the State Bank in 1842 delayed its completion till 1848. "Itself the cause of more than one-third of the enormous debt that threatened to drive Illinois into bankruptcy, the canal furnished the means of escape from impending ruin. The canal played an important part as a commercial route before the use of railroad transportation. Its influence on economic develop ment of the region was even more marked as attested in growth of population, industry and commerce in that portion of the State from 1835 to 1855. It not only transformed a wilderness into a settled and prosperous community but it made Chicago the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley. For half a century the influence of the canal was felt as a transportation route and as a freight regulator."[1]

"During the Civil War the canal was a great factor in meeting the transportation demands of that period. From 1860 to 1880 the records show this canal not only handled a large tonnage but its revenues were sufficient to more than pay its cost of construction and operating expenses."[2]

In his message to the Tenth Annual Assembly of Illinois December 5th, 1836, Governor Duncan tells of his efforts to negotiate the loan in the east for the Illinois and Michigan Canal. He took a loan of $100,000 at 5 per cent advance, but did not consider the terms favorable for a larger loan. He calls attention to the act of Congress directing the deposit with the states of the surplus revenue of the United States and suggests that this be placed in a fund for internal improvements. He again urges the establishment of "a general and uniform system of internal improvement in the State," and again urges a general law providing that the State may take a certain amount of the capital stock in all canals and railroads. He reports that contracts have been let for the construction of several sections of the Illinois and Michigan Canal and from these it appeared the cost would exceed the estimates, but adds, "The work is of the highest importance both to this State and the United States and no ordinary difficulty or expense, should for a moment deter us from its vigorous prosecution."

In this message the Governor called attention to the educational needs of the State in a passage already quoted in connection with his school bill when State Senator in 1825.

Governor Duncan then takes up certain questions of vital national interest, the chief of them being the "spoils" system of President Jack-

[1] Illinois and Michigan Canal by James William Putnam, Ph. D., University of Chicago Press, 1918.

[2] Inland Waterways and Transportation Costs by Mortimer G. Barnes, Chief Engineer, Division of Waterways, Department of Public Works and Buildings, State of Illinois.

son and what he considered the dangerous assumption of power by the National executive. On this point, he says:

"Under our liberal, free and happy form of government the people possess all power, elect and cause all officers to be elected or appointed, and as a matter of convenience alone it is made the duty of the President of the United States, who is not the government, nor the "fountain of honor, and who may do no wrong," to nominate, and by and with advice of the Senate (which is made a check upon his appointing power) to appoint all public officers. It is a principle of our declaration of rights, that all governments should be instituted for the good of the governed, and for the public officers, or the party who happens to be called by the people, to administer its affairs. If these axioms be true, then the claim set up of late by a political party in this country, that the appointment of public officers and patronage of the government is given to the President of the United States for the purpose of sustaining his authority and extending his power and influence, is unjust and fallacious. To sanction the power of the President to remove men from office for an independent expression of opinion, or an honorable opposition to his measures, is a species of oppression and proscription wholly incompatible with the spirit of our government. When the public officer is appointed for his support of the party in power, he knows that his retention in office does not depend so much upon his qualifications and fidelity, as on the zeal and ability he displays at elections, in supporting his party. If the President may thus fortify himself, who does not see the influence he can exercise over the people, either to extend his own power, or to build up and establish that of his favorite. Should this new principle obtain, and it be acknowledged that the executive branch of the government is to exercise such unlimited power over the destiny and liberties of the public officers, and they become at once a trained band, backed by all the influence of place and the money of the country, to corrupt, manage, and plunder the people; such principles are not more novel in our country than they are dangerous to its liberties."

He objects to the principles involved in the President's protest against the authority of Congress to question his official conduct.

He objects "to the chief executive putting himself in possession of the public revenue so completely that a man by the name of Whitney, a private individual bound by no bond or oath of office, and whose character would seem to disqualify him from holding any public trust, has had the acknowledged direction of the whole public money for several years, which amounts to near $40,000,000." The reference is to Reuben M. Whitney who in 1836 became agent for the deposit banks which received the deposits removed from the United States Bank.

Keeping in mind the contrast between Jackson, the hero, and Jackson, the autocrat, Governor Duncan continued:

"It is immaterial whether the President in assuming this power was actuated by a desire to break down the restraints that the Constitution imposed upon his authority, or by those high and patriotic principles which influenced him to set at nought the law and Constitution in 1815 at New Orleans when the safety of the country called for all his energies. The question now to be settled is, whether this power does or does not belong to the executive branch of our government."

The Governor objects further to the President's abuse of the power of removal, due to the building up of the system of patronage which has encouraged men "who make politics a trade for the purpose of managing the voters at elections and procuring an office by which they may subsist without work."

"Indeed such are the temptations that this patronage holds out to allure our industrious and virtuous citizens from their honest occupations that the inordinate love of office is rapidly becoming one of the prominent vices of our country. The long cherished principle that offices in a republic should never be accepted unless freely given, and never declined when freely offered, is only remembered as the phantom of an idle dream."

This power can also be used to "influence and dictate" the official conduct of officers, thus putting into jeopardy "the life, liberty and property of every citizen."

The Governor looked with alarm on the improper influence over the freedom of the press by the appointment of so many public printers in the states, and the appointment to other offices of "a long list of violent party editors."

He calls attention to the President's frequent appointment of members of Congress to high positions, thus directly reversing the position he held before his election as chief executive.

In closing the Governor emphasizes his policy of placing the good of the country above party:

"In presenting these subjects to your consideration, gentlemen, I have discharged what I consider a solemn duty, and should the manner or the substance be unpleasant to any individual, I shall regret it much, and can only say that nothing is further from my wish or intention than to excite any party feelings (which I consider the bane of our government), or to wound the feelings of the most sensitive. They are grave and important subjects, and however unpleasant the task, we must meet them fearlessly and frown them down, if we would not have them considered precedents for the conduct of future administrations.

Now that this election is over, and all party strife, it is hoped, has ceased, and a new administration is just coming into office, appears to be the most auspicious moment for a calm investigation and safe decision of these objects. They can only be decided by public sentiment expressed by the Legislatures of the several states, and by the people in their primary assemblies and upon that decision in my opinion, depends the fate and future destiny of our *Free Republican Government.*

In bringing these subjects before you I have been influenced by no ambitious views. The principles are intended to apply without distinction. Actuated by a sincere desire to sustain and perpetuate our free institutions, I leave the subject with you, gentlemen, praying that patriotism, virtue and harmony may guide your deliberations."[1]

In the House, that part of the Governor's message that related to the general government was referred to a committee. The report, presented December 23, 1836, concurred with Governor Duncan in his "broad and republican principles," but was convinced never-the-less that the President had the right of removal. Hardin led in the defense of the Governor, but the report was adopted, 57 to 24.[2]

A few letters written to Mrs. Duncan, who remained in Jacksonville during the winter of 1836-7, indicate that Governors, even in those days, had their troubles.

December 7, 1836. Vandalia.

"I have had my message printed and will send you a copy but it is uncertain when I will deliver it to the Legislature as they have not been able to elect a President of the Senate. Davison and Hacher are tied.

"I want it understood by all the hands on the place when they have nothing else to do that they are to cut down the underbrush in the grove

[1] Senate Journal, Dec. 5, 1836.
[2] House Journal, 1836-7.

and pile it up. Mr. Linn and Dr. Blackman have gone to the State House to attend an Internal Improvement meeting."

"I hope Mr. Barber will find time to set out trees all round the yard this winter and in every place round and through the front lot also."

December 18, 1836. Vandalia.

"I would come for you if I could, now the snow is so fine for sleighing. But I cannot leave here until the appropriation bill passes which will not be much before 20th or 25th. * * * Polly Ann [Mrs. Linn] wants me to tell Anna Maria [Caldwell] to bring some of the girls with her, for company, as there are no young ladies in Vandalia."

January 22, 1837.

"I was truly disappointed that Judge Lockwood came in the stage last night without St. Clair. * * * I most sincerely regret that there is so much difficulty in organizing the new church. I feel determined to go forward. As to the numbers with which we begin it is less than no objection. God has promised that where two or three are gathered together in His Name, He will be in the midst of them. I have always thought there were too many Christians influenced by fashion, so if we have but few and these unpretending Christians to begin our church, we may feel our weakness and thereby be taught humility. I assure you I would prefer organizing our church with Mr. Gowdy as the only elder than with ten rich influential men to fill such offices. For my part I like small beginnings.

February 16, 1837.

"Anna, Mrs. Hardin, and Lucy were to have gone in the stage but we have had a violent snow storm and the stage driver says that they cannot go, indeed I very much doubt if they get away from here before March.

If you get word of the blue grass seed being at Meridosia I want a team sent for it immediately as it should be sowed as soon as possible. There is some little hopes of the Legislature adjourning on the 6th of March, though they have fixed no day and it is quite uncertain. This is my own opinion only.

The next letter should be a sufficient refutation of the political charges brought against him by some of his political opponents that he planned the railroads so as to increase the value of his own land.

February 23, 1837. Vandalia.

"The Legislature is progressing better with their business and will probably adjourn by the 6th of March. You want to know if I cannot hurry them, *certainly not*, as they have generally made it a point to *oppose all my wishes* and *recommendations*. They have passed a bill to construct several railroads which will add greatly to the value of some of my property, but as I think it was bad policy, I intend to vote against it today, in the council of revision.

I suppose the girls are at home safely. Tell Lucy that Mr. ——— has been here twice. Anna's beau has not looked towards the house since she left it, that I know of, but is still in Vandalia. You may tell them also that I have slept quietly ever since they left. Not even a door shutting or a loud laugh to interrupt me."

The Council of Revision on February 25, 1837, returned the bill entitled, "An Act to establish and maintain a general system of Internal Improvements." To the objections of the other members of the Council, Governor Duncan added "The under signed concur in returning the bill, for the reasons given by Judges Brown and Lockwood and in addition objects to the bill on the ground of expediency. He is of the opinion that such works can only be made safely and economically in a free government by citizens and by independent corporations aided or authorized by the government." The Internal Improvement bill became a law February 27, 1837. In reviewing this period Ford writes, "It is a singular fact, that all the foolish and ruinous measures which have ever passed an

Illinois Legislature, would have been vetoed by the Governor for the time being, if he had possessed the power. The laws creating the late banks and increasing their capital by making the State a stockholder to a large amount and the Internal Improvement system, would have been vetoed by Governor Duncan. In all these cases the veto power would have been highly beneficial. The Democrats helped to make the banks, but the Whigs controlled the most money which gave them the control of the banks."[1]

"Governor Duncan took a conservative attitude on the question of Internal Improvements. He favored the construction of the Illinois Canal but urged that other improvements be left to private initiative. He joined with the Council of Revision in their unsuccessful attempt to prevent the adoption of the so-called "system" of 1837 and on the State banking system took a similar position. He opposed the chartering of the State Bank but was again overruled and his administration closed in the shadow of a great financial depression which began with the panic of 1837."[2]

The Legislature adjourned March 6, 1837, but the condition of the country was such as to require a special session during the summer. The tide of immigration had been flowing into the State by road, river and canal, and had been overtaken by the panic which followed the fever of reckless speculation.

A vivid contemporaneous description of the scenes in Chicago when the speculative boom was rising to its height, was written by Harriet Martineau, who visited Chicago in 1836 and drove out as far as Joliet to see the "prairies." A negro, dressed in scarlet and mounted on a white horse, announced the sales to the crowds in the streets. "The immediate occasion of the bustle which prevailed, the week we were in Chicago, was the sale of lots, to the value of two millions of dollars, along the course of a projected canal." She was struck with wild land along a canal not even marked out, selling for more than rich improved land along the Erie canal in the Mohawk Valley. She calls the rage for speculation a "prevalent mania" and said the bursting of the bubble must come soon. She mentions one lot bought for $150 in the morning selling for $5,000 in the afternoon. She does not worry over the speculators, but she is sorry for the young men and the simple settlers.[3]

The panic of 1837 caused the banks throughout the United States to suspend specie payments and in May the banks in Illinois were in difficulties. Governor Duncan called a special session of the Legislature in July, 1837. From his point of view these disasters were to be attributed to the evils resulting from the removal of the government funds from the bank of the United States. In his message of July 10, 1837, he contrasts the former prosperity of the country with the present "almost universal bankruptcy, in prostrating alike its business, its energies and confidence." He traces the causes of the evils to find out the remedy for them. "The inquiry, however, is important and useful, as the discovery of the cause not unfrequently suggests the remedy."

[1] Ford, History of Illinois, page 189.
[2] Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Greene and Thompson. Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII, page XX.
[3] Printed in Fergus Historical Series, Chicago, No. 9. See pages 37-8.

"In the midst of the disasters which have already fallen on the commercial world and which are still threatening us on all sides, a favorable opportunity occurs to escape from the perils of that system of Internal Improvements adopted last winter, which to my apprehension, is so fraught with evils, and for the reason assigned when I refused my assent to the enactment passed in its favor, as well as from existing pecuniary troubles and derangements, I now recommend its repeal. Let the present pernicious system be rescinded, and in its stead adopt the safer, the more generous, more economical, more expeditious, and in every respect the preferable plan of encouraging private individuals and corporations by suitable aid from the State."

"The Public Treasury must again be firmly placed in the custody of the law, and all power and control over it by the Executive of the United States must be repudiated, a violation of law to collect the revenue in one quarter of the country in specie only, and in another to collect in bank paper. The patronage of the Executive must be reduced, and his power to remove public officers modified so as to prevent his displacing a faithful and competent man, either to gratify party malice or to intimidate him in the free and independent exercise of the elective franchise.

"Party spirit in its mildest form has ever been found an enemy to Liberty and sound legislation but when it is the offspring of ambition and avarice, directed by designing bad men in high places, it begets a blind devotion and infuriated zeal which shuts the door against all reason, justice and patriotism. No power must be allowed to exist in this country superior to that of the people, or that does not acknowledge the supreme and inflexible authority of the laws as the rule of action both for the President and every other functionary of the government."[1]

The House by a vote of 52 to 31 and the Senate by 19 to 11 laid on the table the bills for the repeal of the Internal Improvement Law. "So here ends we hope forever the opposition to our noble system of improvements, the Governor to the contrary."[2]

By a vote of 42 to 24 the House passed resolutions disavowing the "truth of the charges of Governor Duncan in his late message that the present calamity in the moneyed concerns of this country is the result of the General Government upon its currency." Among the men who sustained the Governor were Lincoln, Stuart and other prominent Whigs.

There is a relief in the midst of the general depression to find a record that Governor Duncan was following his favorite hobby about political appointments. He informs the House that they violated the 19 Section of the 2 Article of the Constitution by two appointments to positions in the State of men who were members of the Legislature and also increased their salary contrary to law.[3]

This respect for the authority of the law runs all through his private as well as his public papers—as we have seen in 1830 he wanted the man who shot his brother in Louisiana "to have strict justice done him and to employ such council as will insure a fair trial." In the exciting times of the anti-slavery agitation Governor Duncan wanted the law respected by both sides.

The Alton riots occurred in the fall of 1837, resulting in the death of Elijah Parrish Lovejoy. The Governor was not called upon to exercise his authority.

He writes to an abolitionist, Rev. Gideon Blackburn, on December 12, 1837:

[1] Senate Journal, July 10, 1837.
[2] The State Register July 15, 1837.
[3] House Journal July 10, 1837, page 33.

"The outrage at Alton must be disapproved and regretted by all good citizens, and nothing has happened within our peaceful State that has filled me with so much regret as this event. The restless spirit of the people of the United States, so frequently developed of late in mobs, has made a deep impression on my mind and is evidence that all is not right with us.

I hold that no power in this country is superior to the law, and that a violation of it with impunity is impossible without giving a serious wound to the liberties of the people and impairing the strength and value of our free institutions; but little, however, you must know, is left to the executive branch of this State government in such cases, as all offenders are to be tried by the courts and juries of the country, which is the only safe tribunal to entrust with such power. * * *.

While thus condemning mobs and all sorts of lawless violence, which I do from the bottom of my soul, for I believe they are never necessary and generally judge and execute their judgements improperly, to say nothing of the violence done the law and the Constitution which is an attack on the rights and liberties of every citizen and especially the poor and the weak part of them, yet I must at the same time express my decided disapprobation of any attempt while the public mind is in such a state of excitement, to agitate the question of abolishing slavery in this country, for it can never be broached without producing violence and discord, whether it be in a free or slave state. I confess I am one of those who believe it will neither be consistent with sound policy or humanity by a single effort to free all the slaves in the Union, ignorant, vicious and degraded as they are known to be, and then turn them loose upon the world without their possessing the least qualification for civil government, or knowledge of the value of property, or the use of liberty. * * *.

Mr. Lovejoy's death was caused by a lawless mob and whether he killed the first man or not, they were aggressors and must stand condemned in the eyes of every virtuous and peaceful citizen. I am bound in candor to say that I disapprove of Lovejoy's determination to persist in the publication of sentiments that had driven him from St. Louis and twice before had caused the destruction of his own press in Alton; * * * I cannot, however, from my knowledge of the man, for a moment doubt the purity of his motives.

You call Mr. Lovejoy a martyr. I consider no man entitled to the distinction of martyrdom who is the first to shed blood and who dies with arms in his hands."

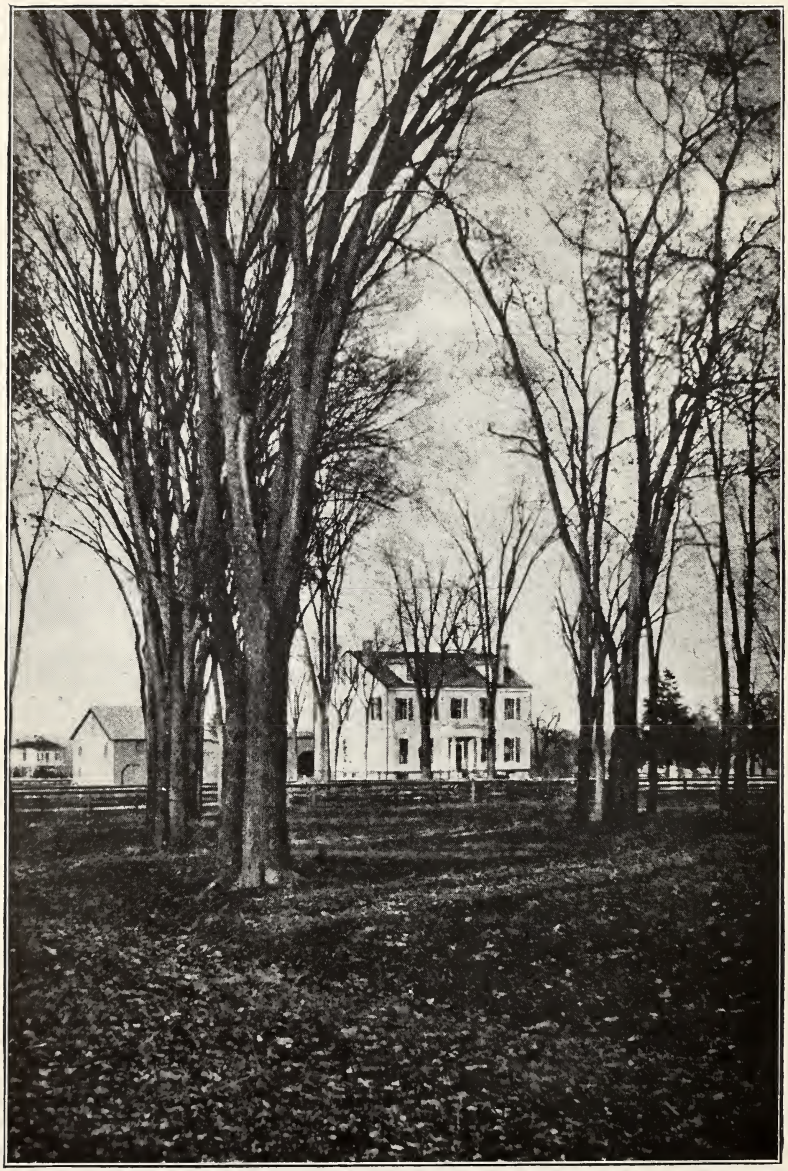
Later, Governor Duncan wrote a letter to the president of Illinois College, on a report that abolition principles were being taught in that institution:

"Believing that it is wrong, morally and politically, for any citizen or public institution to teach or advocate doctrines or principles in this country which can not be carried into practice peaceably without violating the Constitution of the United States, or forcibly, without civil war, the risk of disunion, and the destruction of our free and happy government, I can not, with my present convictions of the course pursued by its faculty, consistently hold any connection with this institution."[1]

As the report was disproved this letter was not sent.

Governor Duncan disapproved of slavery as "a great moral and political evil." Like many other Kentuckians in Illinois, Hardin, Browning, Mather, etc., he hoped a peaceful solution could be found to end slavery. It was while Mr. Duncan was Governor that Abraham Lincoln, on March 3, 1837, just before the adjournment of the Legislature, introduced into the lower house his famous protest, stating that "the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy" and

[1] Julia Duncan Kirby, Biographical Sketch of Joseph Duncan, page 54.



DUNCAN HOME, ELM GROVE, JACKSONVILLE, ILL.

continuing: "The promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils."[1] The first of these declarations of the young Lincoln is frequently quoted; the second is apt to be neglected.

Mr. Duncan did not run for Governor in 1838. Thomas Carlin was elected.

On December 4th, 1838, on retiring from office, Governor Duncan addressed the Legislature again on the Internal Improvement policy—the same as before—recommending "the Illinois and Michigan Canal as a national highway to be kept as free as the waters of the Mississippi or the St. Lawrence;" admitting that many mistakes had been made, as "in a country almost entirely destitute of skill and experience in such works, was to have been expected," objecting to public officers being used by politicians for purpose of influencing the elections, urging a sound money system, and closing with:

"In taking leave of you, gentlemen, allow me to offer the assurance of my sincere good wishes and friendly feeling for every one of you. The violence with which I have been assailed, by my political opponents, during the whole time I have been in office has caused no rankling in my bosom. The plain manner in which I have felt it my duty to speak of what I sincerely believed to be errors, and abuses, of the party now in power, I knew well would bring their vengeance with all its force upon me, and had I loved ease and office more than my duty, I should have chosen a different course. But I owe too strong a debt of gratitude, to the people of Illinois and hold the Constitution and freedom of our country, in too much esteem ever to shrink from the discharge of my duty."

Thus ends his public career of fourteen years.

CHAPTER V.

Retirement to Private Life.

The Christmas of 1838 found Mr. Duncan at home in Jacksonville, a private citizen after fourteen years of continuous public service. The friendship and respect of his fellow citizens, a beautiful home which was the centre of hospitality and which today maintains its dignity of structure, a large and growing family of children, lands, farms and cattle, all promised a future of quiet and ease.

Mrs. Duncan's reminiscences give a vivid picture of their early life in Jacksonville whither she had gone in 1832, dressed "in white India muslin dress and long sky blue sash." No wonder people asked "what brought you so far from the city out into the wild country. I said, 'my husband, I followed him.' People were kind but they appeared very rough in their home spun clothes but I learned to love and appreciate them after living among them. Wherever I went they turned my trunk inside out, tried on all my clothes and admired them generally. It was funny and often annoying to have them cut patterns of every thing they could, often ruining them past use.

"* * * In two days we came into town and there being a small hotel and court in session we slept in Murray McConnel's office. The next morning the office was filled with men before I got out of bed and it was with difficulty I got a chance to dress. Next move was Mrs.

[1] Nicolay-Hay, Lincoln, Vol. I, page 140.

Matthew Stacey's garret where it was so low I could not stand up to dress. I am only 4 feet 5 inches so you can imagine the height of the ceiling. After that we removed to the country three miles east of town, Mrs. James Kerr. We lived a good deal on peaches. Maria (the nurse) used to drive for me and we took old Tom and the two boys and came in for my husband every night while he built me a small frame house one mile west of the square. It was completed in four weeks from the day it was commenced. Three rooms and an entry. It was beautifully situated. It was opposite the college which was only the south wing. * * * 1830 was the winter of the deep snow. In the morning when I looked out of my cottage window it was above the sill. Mr. Duncan was in Congress. His mother was with me. Eunice Conn was with me that night and she cried, thinking she would be buried alive in the snow.

"The next fall I went to Washington with Mr. Duncan. James was 2 years 7 months old. He died at Wheeling, Virginia and we buried him on the hill in sight of the river. I was very ill at the time. * * * When I arrived in Washington they were all grieved that James was not with us—none more so than Peggy who had his little chair sitting in the window for him."

The summer of 1832 was spent in the east and on account of the cholera in Washington City, they went to Mrs. Anne McLaughlin Myers, Mr. Duncan's aunt in Greencastle, Pennsylvania, where their daughter Mary Louisa, my mother, was born. The following summer they came west, finding the cholera in Jacksonville. Mrs. Duncan writes:

"We entertained Mr. T. M. Post, nephew of my beloved pastor, Rev. Reuben Post, the same that united us in marriage, the same that found me a girl very fond of dancing and gay society and that led me to give it all up and be a Christian it being one of the requirements of the Presbyterian Church. Though I felt sure in regard to simple dancing, my father's views on that subject were correct, for in my childhoods home after we had our dance, at ten o'clock the piano was closed, the servants called in, the family bible opened and although we used Rouse's version of the Psalms, singing of the dolorous music, never affected unpleasantly our dreams, after kissing our parents goodnight, we retired refreshed in body and mind.

"Mr. Post came to us the day Mr. Duncan had a barn raising. About twelve or fifteen men were to have their dinner. Mr. Duncan constructed a table out of planks nailed to the trees back in the grove and the men stood around it. I sat on a chair placed on a box to bring me up on a level with the rest of them. Maria was a good cook and gave them a good meal. Mr. Post enjoyed our little home after the long journey from the east. He spoke of waking in the night and passing his hands over the linen pillow cases and sheets and feeling as if he was in heaven."

It is interesting to read Dr. Post's description of this same scene, written in 1884 when he was a noted preacher in St. Louis. He had intended to follow the profession of a lawyer and was tempted to settle in Richmond, Virginia, "attracted by its social culture, and advantageous inducements offered me by Senator Rivers but through the influence and representations of your father I was induced to determine I would visit him in Illinois before permanently settling elsewhere. In view of this

fact I have ever regarded your father as one through whose influence Providence has permanently touched the history of my life, turning its course toward a new world and fixing its field in the then far west.

"In pursuance of this plan, in May, 1833, I visited Jacksonville, Illinois, then an extreme out-settlement toward the Northwest. In this region I found your father at his home, not far from where the family residence now stands, about one mile from the town, which was then a crowded village of log cabins. His home, a small initial pioneer structure, quite shanty-like compared with those which afterward arose in its place. It was the only attempt at a wooden frame dwelling I can now recollect in that vicinity. I remember as I approached it I was much struck with the contrast it presented to your mother's former luxurious surroundings and delicate culture, and to your father's reputation and reality of proprietorship of great wealth; and I saw I was looking upon the beginning of a new world.

"I found your father and mother under the shade of large trees in front of their house, surrounded by a company mainly of crude, rough, stalwart men with manner, garb and speech of plain and quite primitive type, with bronzed strongly marked, shrewd faces, the backwoodsmen political leaders of the newly emerging commonwealth. It was near the dinner hour and rough tables were set in the shadow of the lofty trees. Then, as we gathered around them, I shall never forget how your mother, a little delicate brave woman, solitary amid that company of men, arose and as your father was not at that time a communicant of the church, offered thanks and asked the divine blessing on our repast. The scene and the incident give us a glimpse of the life of those times and are also characteristic of the Christian heroism of your mother. I shall never forget it. It affected me permanently in various ways, besides impressing me ever with a high admiration for her Christian principle and bravery."

Mr. and Mrs. Duncan returned to Washington for the winter session of Congress. Mrs. Duncan was ill during the summer of 1834. She writes, "In the fall without any electioneering my husband being elected Governor of Illinois we came west to remain.[1] He brought me on a spring bed in a close carriage, another carriage followed with my three children, Cousin Anna Caldwell, an English wet nurse for Nannie, John McClusky, an Irishman came as driver and remained with us 14 years —a more faithful man never lived. We came to the cottage till the large house was completed. James Finley we had got to superintend the building. He changed the plans of the size of the windows and doors, which I always regretted. We moved into the house in the summer of 1835.[2]

[1] Mrs. Duncan's account of the return to Illinois makes no mention of the oft repeated story of the meeting of Governor Reynolds and Governor Duncan. The latter was returning to Illinois to be Governor and the former Governor was on the way to take Duncan's seat in Congress. "Yes," said the old ranger, "and we are changing horses politically, too. You are riding the Yankee mule and I am going to keep astraddle of Old Hickory." Quoted in the Biographical Sketch of Joseph Duncan by Julia Duncan Kirby, page 27.

[2] The grounds in front of the house were given many years ago by Mrs. Duncan to the town of Jacksonville as a park. Recently, in 1920, the house was bought by the Daughters of the American Revolution to be used as a club house and also by the local Historical Society. It is doubtful if there are many other houses left in Illinois of this early period and of as interesting architecture. It resembles the old Duncan house in Paris, Kentucky, but is larger and the rooms in better proportion, with a finely designed vestibule and hall. The outside of the house

"Daniel Webster made us a visit in 1837. My husband gave a barbecue in our grove in his honor. They roasted a steer whole. Webster made a speech which was as eloquent as his always were, calling out cheer after cheer, from his delighted audience."

Dr. T. N. Post of St. Louis describes this occasion in a letter written Dec. 23, 1884: "* * * One evening of unique and memorable interest I distinctly recall spent by myself and my wife with your father and mother and Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Webster and their daughter, at your father's house. Mr. Webster had changed somewhat since I had seen him in Washington, in the pride of his strength in the great constitutional battle of the Titans, wrestling with Calhoun and those of his school. Time, with its work and wear and worriment, was telling somewhat on him, yet still his stalwart strength was on him, and perhaps his manhood, as well as his ambition, was never greater. I shall never forget his conversation with me on the "Book of Job" that evening, by your father's fireside, and he will ever continue as one of the grand historic figures I met with in those years in your father's home of princely hospitalities."[1]

The hospitality of the house was unbounded; and Mrs. Duncan's diary shows no surprise at relatives and friends "dropping in" for a visit of several weeks though there are occasioned requests for Christian patience and fortitude to cope with the difficulties of housekeeping. The tradition of an old colored cook who said "Massa Joe, all this here house needs to be an hotel, is the hanging out de sign," is verified by an entry in the diary of 1841. "For the first time in 6 months we ate breakfast and dinner alone. In the evening Mr. Norris the gentleman who is to deliver the lecture on the orphan asylum, accompanied by Mr. Wilkinson came to remain a week with us * * * both very agreeable gentlemen," and a few days later—"Had the pleasure of 3 friends coming unexpectedly to spend the day with me, had the meat of a bear for dinner but cannot say that I would prefer it.

"January 14, 1841. Took a ride with my husband in the sleigh with an unbroken colt and all the children," and a few days later, "attended a maternal meeting with my four eldest children. Was pleased with Mary and Ann Elizabeth answering so promptly their text in relation to keeping the Sabbath day. * * * The dear children

has been altered by the addition of porches. The original clapboards of black walnut have recently had the paint removed and are of a beautiful tone. All the furniture and china that has come down in the family from this period are choice and beautiful.

There is a small square mahogany piano, an unusual piece of furniture to have in those days, and, with other articles shows a love of the fine arts. In this connection it is of interest to mention a large mahogany French magnifying glass with colored lithographs of Versailles, St. Cloud and curiously enough one of Kirkcudbright, Scotland (the home of Mrs. Duncan's father) a collection of eight French lithographs by Grevedon: a large mahogany centre table and book case with columns which tradition says were the work of a local cabinet maker, certainly a good one: the glass in the small panes is primitive. Unfortunately all the books were stored and lost.

There are beautiful pieces of furniture, silver and glass, belonging to Mrs. Duncan's father and the bills of lading show they either went by ship from New York to New Orleans and up the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers to Meredosia and then by wagon to Jacksonville, or "avoiding the dangers of the seas" as one bill states, came by canal, across the mountains and down the Ohio River.

With the exception of a short time when it was rented, the old house was occupied by the family from the time it was built in 1833 until it was sold in 1920. For many years it was the home of Judge and Mrs. Edward P. Kirby. Mrs. Kirby died there in 1906. Seldom in the west does it happen that a person is born, marries and dies in the same house.

[1] Letter to Mrs. Julia D. Kirby, quoted, Biographical Sketch, page 69.

were asked if they would like to educate a Heathen child and call him Edward Beecher they showed their spirit by holding up their right hands.

"February 5, 1841. Snowing all day. * * * spent the evening in reading the lives of General Jackson and Daniel Webster as comparisons are odious I will not make any.

The next day "the sun shone brightly, rose at 6 o'clock."

"February 22, 1841. "Washington's birthday, felt a little better and rode down town and saw a procession going to church a new society by the name of the Washingtonians who appear to do a great deal of good. My husband also appears much engaged about it. It was also his birthday, being 48 years old."

"March 11. * * * In the evening prepared to go down to meeting and found the horses cutting up and remained at home. I fear I should not be able to give my body to be burned if it was necessary. Lord enable me to search myself and see what manner of spirit I am."

"May 19, 1841. Took my usual ride of a mile on horseback.

"July 20. Great excitement in town concerning the robbery of the Illinois Bank. Satan appears to be walking up and down on the earth."

There were lectures by the abolitionists, meetings of the Colonization Society and on March 29—"attended a meeting to do something for the education of females." This was the beginning of the Ladies Educational Society which still is doing good work in enabling girls to obtain an education and then repay the money advanced. Scattered through the pages are little human touches, as when on March 15 she writes, "Judge Robbins the temperance agent staid with us the Sabbath and Monday he related many interesting anecdotes in relation to it. I still however feel a degree of foolish feeling in regard to it that if I join it I shall then feel inclined to drink it when I never did," and a few days later "an old countryman came in at tea time and was a [illegible] on my pleasure as all vulgar people are. Lord forbid that I should indulge improper pride."

Intermingled with the serious affairs of life is mention of calls, teas and great neighborly kindness.

Mr. Duncan went east in 1840 and again in 1841—and there are a few letters of that period written to Mrs. Duncan in Jacksonville.

New York, June 3, 1840.

"You will hardly believe how anxious I am to leave this place—but I am resolved not to leave here until my business is satisfactorily arranged and from present appearances it may take all this month for I never found men here so reluctant to do anything. * * * General Thornton went out in the British Anna. It is nothing now to go to Europe. The vessels all go out full of cabin passengers and return crowded to overflowing with all kinds; thousands of emigrants are coming here from Europe every week. * * *.

Everything in this city is very dull. There is a dutch girl here, Fanny Elssler, a dancer that is turning the brains (if that be possible), of all the fashionable and *the soap locks of this city.* It is said she is no better than she should be, yet she is worshipped here as a being from another world, so much for taste and fashion.

Mr. Page the artist who painted my portrait three years ago thinks he has improved since and as he does not like the likeness he has offered to

paint another for nothing so I am now sitting for it and may possibly bring it home with me."

June 16, 1840.

"I forgot whether I had written you that I have had a splendid portrait painted of me. It is said to be very fine."

A few of his letters home in 1841 are quoted:

Washington City, November 27, 1841.

"Nothing has occurred since my arrival worthy of note. I have however called on the President and several of the heads of departments. Mr. Webster enquired particularly for you. They all look unhappy indeed. I think they have no great reason to be otherwise. I have done nothing with my business here and I begin to fear it will be out of my power to effect any arrangements though I am very glad I came on as I shall have to provide for defending the suit."

New York, 18th December, 1841.

"You see I am still here and for my life I cannot tell when I shall get off. My patience is almost exhausted with the Dysons and if they do not settle with me very soon I shall put my claim into the lawyers' hands. I am also trying to arrange to get something for Janet and that has already been and may still be a cause of detention.

I have not had time to visit but intend to see all of our friends the day before I leave as it would be impossible to go out much to dine and that is the only way to avoid it. * * *.

I have not bought you a thing yet, as I have collected no money and unless I do it is going to be scarce times with me."

19th, Sunday night.

I went to hear Dr. Haux, the celebrated Episcopalian. There I met Colonel and Mrs. Hamilton and also old Mrs. Hamilton, widow of Gen. Alex. Hamilton, of the Revolution and went home with her and took dinner and never was more delightfully entertained by any young lady, though she is now 84 years old. She is as active and her mind as clear as that of any lady I have seen in the city. Indeed she is more animated and intelligent than any I have seen. She is very much interested in several benevolent societies, one of which she founded 40 years ago. She said to me with great animation, Sir, our accounts never get confused and our treasury is never empty —I keep them myself."

Washington City, 7th January, 1842.

"I assure you that nothing shall detain me that I can avoid after my suit is decided and I hope that may be done next week as the Supreme Court meets on Monday next but it would be madness to leave before it is settled. If the court tried this case soon after it sits as I hope it may, I shall start home next week and if not, I shall have to wait their own time.

There is nothing going on here worth relating to you. I am staying with your sister and spend my time as pleasantly as I could anywhere out of my own home. I take but little part in politics as the Whigs are split into factions, on some questions about which sometimes one, and sometimes both are wrong but I believe all will in the main come right. Therefore I take no active part with either.

Finding that I have a large space left, I will fill it with an account of my visits for want of something better to write about.

On the first of January I went with the crowd to pay my respects to the President. It was a lovely day and I never saw so great a crowd at the White House. There was nothing like it even in General Jackson's day. Whether it was the President's popularity, the fine day or the facilities of getting to the city by railroads that brought such a multitude together I cannot tell. On the 3rd I went to the Buchanan levee and it was crowded as well, a splendid affair. I have dined out by invitation only four times and am to dine with the President today. Yesterday I dined with Mr. Gales and met Mrs. Madison there. She looks exceedingly well and is now, as she ever has been a very great favorite.

Mr. Webster has paid me no attention. I met his wife with him in the street. She made particular enquiries about you. I cannot suppose his neglect is intentional for he is said to be very much depressed by the abuse his old friends are giving him and I suppose he thinks I feel as every one else acts towards him. I forgot that I dined also with W. T. Carroll, it was given to Miss Taylor and was a splendid entertainment."

The charm of the old Jacksonville still lingers about its spacious homes with the atmosphere of generous hospitality reminiscent of the South, and along the elm-lined streets which remind one of a New England town. For into the life of Jacksonville have gone these two elements. From New England came the Yale Band to found Illinois College on "The Hill"—with Sturtevant, Turner, Kirby, Adams and the others. From New England came also Dr. Hiram K. Jones, the platonic philosopher carrying on the Emerson-Alcott tradition.[1] From Kentucky came the Duncan's, Hardin's,[2] Clay's, Brown's, and a large group, equally influential in contributing toward the character of the city in which the features of New England and the South are so happily blended.

CHAPTER VI.

Last Political Campaign: Business Affairs.

In 1840 Governor Duncan took an active part in the campaign against VanBuren for re-election as President. His note book contains material he gathered for speeches, a hand bill announcing one of the meetings, and numerous newspaper clippings.

The hand bill reads:

"GOVERNOR DUNCAN, Will make a speech to the original supporters of General Jackson, and all who may please to come and hear him in CARROLLTON, ON MONDAY, OCTOBER 26,

HE WILL ENDEAVOR TO PROVE,

1st.—That the present administration does not now, and that it never has, since 1830, acted upon the principles avowed by General Jackson and his friends, previous to his election in 1828.

2d.—That Mr. VanBuren's policy has generally been anti-Republican, has a tendency to the destruction of public liberty, and that his professions of Democracy and love for the people, are false and hypocritical.

3d.—That Mr. VanBuren has, in violation of General Jackson's pledge, increased the standing army—is seeking to establish a large standing army; and that his late denial of having recommended the plan submitted by the Secretary of War, for recruiting and keeping in the service of government 200,000 troops, under the pretext of organizing the militia, is a gross misrepresentation of facts, for the purpose of deceiving the people, and avoiding responsibility.

As truth is the only object, and that can be best known by hearing both sides, he invites any friend or supporter of Mr. VanBuren to answer his speech, and to discuss those charges with him.

October 24, 1840."

Governor Duncan criticised VanBuren for his opposition to the War of 1812, for his opposition to the original Jackson policy of 1824-

[1] Even as late as the nineties Dr. Jones continued giving his weekly Platonic lectures. One of the writer's most impressive childhood recollections of her visits to Jacksonville was attending these Saturday morning monologues. It remains unsolved whether she was taken as a matter of course, or whether there was a hope of her becoming interested in transcendental philosophy.

[2] Colonel John J. Hardin was one of the closest friends of Governor Duncan. The Hardin papers have not been edited and may contain much of interest on the early period of Illinois history.

1829, for his lack of true democracy, for his extravagance, for advocating what was considered a standing army, and for his abuse of patronage.

At Governor Duncan's speech in Springfield September 25th, 1840, Stephen A. Douglas accepted the challenge to answer, the result being a joint debate interesting as anticipating the joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas.

In 1841 Governor Duncan went to Washington in connection with his personal business.

There has been preserved a copy of a letter to the President, interesting as giving his views on the political questions of the hour:

WASHINGTON, 26th November, 1841.

DEAR SIR: It was my intention, had an opportunity offered, when I called to see you yesterday evening, to have suggested verbally, what I am now [doing] upon reflection the better way, as your time must be much occupied at present with your official duties. I shall offer no apology for this letter, or for the suggestions I am about to make, as it is the duty of every citizen to do everything in his power to secure the peace and prosperity of our country. My object then, sir, is to call your attention, (in hopes you may notice it in the message you are about to submit to Congress), the following proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, viz:

1st.—To render the President of the United States ineligible for a re-election to the same office.

2nd.—To limit the Executive control over the public moneys, until after they may have been appointed by law.

3rd.—To restrict the President's power to remove all public officers (except members of his Cabinet and diplomatic agents) to causes of incompetency, infidelity, or want of usefulness, the evidence of which, to be submitted to the Senate for their approval.

4th.—To prohibit members of Congress from accepting appointments from the Executive.

The last twelve years of this country shows the great importance of these amendments. With such guards thrown around our free institutions we may reasonably hope that they would be perpetual. Without them, should the administration ever again get into the hands of an ambitious man at the head of a great organized party, we may expect again to witness the same scenes of corruption, and the same violent action of the government on our elections and on all the institutions of the country, which have so recently agitated and convulsed every portion of it.

"The correction of these abuses was the great subject that occupied the public mind in our late struggle, and in my opinion this limitation of Executive power, is the first reform that the people expected this administration to recommend and Congress to carry out."

With great respect, your friend,

JOSEPH DUNCAN.

To the President of the United States.

Mr. Duncan had for four years been attending to his private interests, although, as has been shown, he took a keen interest in the changing political conditions.

In 1842, he was again induced to run for Governor. He made his campaign on his record in public life, in his speeches paying special attention to a sane policy of internal improvements and banking. The Mormon question was also an issue. His opponent Adam W. Snyder died during the campaign and Thomas Ford became the rival and successful candidate. Probably no better man could have been elected in this crisis in the financial affairs of the State than Thomas Ford.

This was Governor Duncan's last political campaign. He was a statesman of the frontier and pioneer days, the days of blazing trails in government as in the western wilderness. There was soon to come a time when the vision, daring and vigor of the pioneer was not so much needed as the more systematic and business-like building up of the new states, and this work, important but perhaps not so fascinating, was to be done by other men.

This last campaign was clouded by the references to Mr. Duncan's private business affairs—complicated by a lawsuit of the government against the sureties of William Linn who had defaulted as receiver of public monies in Vandalia. Mr. Linn had married Polly Ann Duncan, Joseph Duncan's sister. Mr. Duncan was one of these sureties and apparently took the burden of the suit on his shoulders.

Linn on February 12, 1835, was re-appointed receiver of public moneys at the land office of the district of Vandalia for the term of four years from January 12, 1835, it becoming publicly known later that his record at the time had not been clear. Over a year later, on April 1, 1836, Joseph Duncan, with eight others, became his sureties, a new bond being apparently signed August 1, 1836. Linn appears to have used the money in his hands for land speculation and became a defaulter. The government made a demand for an accounting November 22, 1837, and again April 2, 1838. Suit was brought in the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Illinois against Linn and his sureties. There were several technical points introduced, one of these the fact that the first instrument was not properly sealed, and another that the instrument was executed over a year after Linn had been in charge of the monies. Logan & Brown are mentioned as the attorneys for Joseph Duncan. The case was carried up to the United States Supreme Court in the January term of 1841 and the January term of 1843. The Supreme Court by a divided opinion reversed the decision of the lower court which had favored the defendants. Joseph Duncan appears to have been the only one of the nine sureties who was solvent and the government proceeded to collect the whole debt from him.

"Thousands of acres of the best and most carefully selected lands in Illinois were sold at ten cents an acre; some of the handsomest residence properties in Jacksonville at three and four dollars a lot and nearly forty acres comprising Duncan's Addition to Chicago, now in the heart of the city, were sold from five to seven dollars a lot."[1]

As a result of the ruthless and unbusiness-like method by which the execution was carried out all of Governor Duncan's fortune and part of his wife's was swept away. The amount realized was less than half the amount of the judgment. Had it been handled differently the judgment could have been paid in full and something saved for other creditors and for the family.

In an endeavor to clear up this complicated case I have recently consulted Mr. Stuart Brown, of Springfield, Illinois, as to the records of this case and at his suggestion include the correspondence between Mr. Duncan and Solicitor of the Treasury in which the former states his case in a straightforward manner and the reply of the Solicitor

[1] Julia Duncan Kirby: Biographical Sketch of Joseph Duncan, page 64.

indicates his appreciation of the strength of the claim but that his office has no legal authority to take action.

Four law suits were brought in the District Court and two in the Supreme Court of the United States. The records of the District Court of the United States of Illinois, when the District of Illinois was separated into two districts, called the Northern and the Southern Districts of Illinois, were removed to Chicago in 1855 and were destroyed by the Chicago Fire in 1871. Because of this loss of the files and records an accurate statement of all the points in controversy cannot now be made.

It appears from the Records of the United States Supreme Court that in the first case there was a division of opinion on the question whether an instrument not a bond was yet a binding contract at Common Law.[1] The second case was brought in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Illinois upon a declaration in three counts. Joseph Duncan and others plead *Non est factum* to the first count. Joseph Duncan filed a special plea to the second and third counts. To this plea the Government filed a special demurrer and the court gave judgment for Duncan on the demurrer. The first count went to the jury and on instructions by Court there was a verdict for the defendants upon the issues of fact.

The United States then took the case to the Supreme Court of the United States on Writ of Error, which court reversed the case and sent it back to the Circuit Court of the United States for the District for Illinois for further proceedings."[2]

It must be assumed that in such "further proceedings" the Government obtained judgements against all the sureties. It is regrettable that the destruction of the records in the Chicago Fire prevents us from analyzing the proceedings or finding out who were the judges and the lawyers acting.

It is thought advisable to reprint the correspondence of Mr. Duncan with the Solicitor of the Treasury. This was printed in the Alton Telegraph and Democratic Review, Alton, Ill., Saturday, June 11, 1842.

Charles B. Penrose, Esq.

Solicitor of the Treasury:

SIR: You are apprised that three judgments were obtained against A. M. Jenkins, J. Griggs, C. Will, J. M. Duncan, Wm. L. D. Ewing, R. J. Hamilton, M. Duncan, J. Whitlock, L. F. Watwood, John Echols, J. Allen, H. Foster, John Fleming, J. Long, S. Alphin, B. W. Brooks, Wm. M'Connel, A. P. Field, J. Linder, L. Lee, J. Hall, A. Lee. D. B. Watterman, Wm. C. Greenup, and myself, at the June Term, 1841, of the District Court of the United States, for the State of Illinois, for several sums, amounting to $28,597.20, as securities, on part, or on all, the official Bonds of Wm. Linn, late Receiver of Public Moneys at Vandalia, in said State.

The Marshal has now an Execution in his hands against us, and will be compelled, of course, to make the money out of our property, which must prove ruinous, if carried out with all the rigors of the law, to several of our most valued citizens. Under these circumstances, I have voluntarily come to Washington, for the purpose, if possible, of making some arrangement for the payment of this large and most unjust claim, by which that ruin may be obviated which usually follows the sale of property under execution, for cash; and especially in such times as these.

[1] 15 Peters page 290.
[2] 1 Howard page 104.

I propose, therefore, to pay the above debt in real estate, to be valued under oath, by two persons chosen by the United States and one by the securities; by which arrangement the whole claim will be secured to the Government, and as they can afford to wait for some time, the whole would be realized. Thus relieving the securities from debts which can not be paid otherwise; and which, being a lien upon their property, must, to a great extent, paralyze their energies, and usefulness as citizens, so long as those judgments hang over them.

I have said that it is an unjust debt; and believing it to be so, I should not hesitate to appeal to a just Executive, if it were in his power, to relieve us from its payment; but, as that is impossible, I confidently anticipate the most favorable arrangement that can be made, consistent with law and justice. All these transactions, except the judgments and executions, transpired under the VanBuren administration; and I shall refer to them as briefly as possible, for the purpose of showing that this debt is unjust, and such as a virtuous people, could it be submitted to them, would never allow to be collected and put into the public Treasury.

You are aware of the requirements of the laws of Congress, that deposits shall be made every three months, whether the sum in the hands of a Receiver be large or small; and that the Treasury regulations are explicit and positive, that, whenever the sums received shall amount to Ten Thousand Dollars, the Receiver shall forthwith make a deposit of it.

Relying upon the Executive to see that these laws were faithfully executed, as he was sworn to do, I felt confident, and so must all concerned have felt, that the risk could not be very great, in signing his first bond: much less could any of us have anticipated that the Receiver would have been appointed a second and third times, and we again and again induced to sign his bonds, when he was known to the Executive, as they now say, to have been a defaulter all the time. Who could possibly have supposed that the chief officer of Government, having so high a trust, could be either so careless or corrupt as to have retained him in office, without warning his securities that they were holden, under his previous bonds, for a defalcation. None of his securities were so warned; his default was studiously concealed from us all, except from one gentleman, a prominent supporter of the party, who had been security on the two first bonds, who may have had notice, as he did not renew his security on the third, or the collateral bond; and that he was thus warned and protected by Executive favor, is strongly to be inferred, from the fact that he has not been sued on the two bonds that he did sign.

It will be seen, from the Records of the Treasury Department, that Linn was first appointed a Receiver on the 11th of June, 1830. He was reappointed on the 2d of May, 1831. At this time he is found to have been a defaulter, on the trial of the suit, in the small sum of $621.99. As it is possible his accounts may not have been adjusted at this time, I am not disposed to attach any importance to it. But he was again appointed in 1835, for which no excuse can be given; as Mr. Woodbury and the President both knew that he was a large defaulter at the time; which they studiously concealed from the public, thereby bringing this ruin upon his unsuspecting securities. At the date of this appointment, it will be seen from the correspondence, that Linn was a large defaulter. He was then considered a man of substance; and, if his securities had been notified of his default, they would not only have compelled him to pay up, but would have declined signing the bond then taken, on which the United States have recovered a judgment for the full amount, say $20,000.[1]

On the 20th October, 1834, (Doc. No. 297, 2d session 25th Congress) Mr. Woodbury writes to Mr. Linn:

[1] "There were not wanting those that said that his (Linn's) reappointment under such circumstances was a scheme of the Jackson men to break down Duncan, who they knew would remain surety on the bond of his brother-in-law. That such was the hope and expectation of the Democratic leaders in Washington was once admitted to the writer by the Hon. Murray McConnell."—Mrs. Kirby's Biographical Sketch of Joseph Duncan, page 63-4.

"Observing from your monthly return of the 30th September, 1834, that notwithstanding the positive injunction contained in a letter from the Department, dated 23d June last, (of which a copy is here enclosed) the public moneys have been permitted to accumulate in your hands, in violation of law, and the instructions of the Department; and that it amounted, on the 30th ultimo, to the sum of $10,936.39."

Under date of the 4th December, 1834, (same Doc., page 37), Mr. Woodbury again writes to Mr. Linn:

"Sir, allow me to inquire why it is, that your letter, of the 16th ultimo, is entirely silent as to your neglect to comply with the positive instructions in a letter from the Department, dated 23d June last; and that you still neglect to pay over the public moneys in your hands."

Thus he stood a public defaulter for a large sum, when Mr. VanBuren reappointed him in 1835, as will be seen by reference to the same Document, page 41. Mr. Woodbury writes, under date of 12th February, 1835—"To William Linn:

"Sir, although it has pleased the President, under the explanation given, notwithstanding your past neglect in some cases, to deposit the public moneys as required by law and the instructions of the Department, to renominate you for the office of Receiver of Public Moneys at Vandalia, Illinois, and your nomination has been confirmed, yet it is not to be inferred from this evidence of his regard, that any farther omission in this respect can be overlooked."

From the above it will be seen that Linn's default was known and connived at by the Government; and I leave you to judge of the motive for concealing the fact from the Senate, when he was renominated for its approval, and of the measure of justice to his securities, who had no means of knowing that he had been using the public money from the first, in violation of law, with the full knowledge of the President, as is shown conclusively by Mr. Woodbury's correspondence above referred to. I call your attention also to the fact, that Mr. Woodbury's letter of the 12th February, 1835, disguises the truth, when he says, "Your past neglect, in some cases, to deposit;" when the whole correspondence, and result of the suits, show him to have been a continued defaulter from the beginning; and if all the correspondence be examined, it will show that he did not only neglect or refuse to deposit the money in his hands up to the time referred to, but continued to withhold them up to the time of his resignation in 1838.

What would a faithful and honest Executive have done in such a case? You will doubtless answer—He would have promptly dismissed the officer, and given immediate notice to his securities. Was there any honorable reason why this was not done? I venture to say, the President himself will not venture to offer one. No, it is impossible that any one can suppose that he was kept in office for the public good, or that he was not retained to be used, and made a scape-goat of, by the Government party. If you should doubt this, I refer you to a letter from Wm. J. Brown, one of the traveling political agents of the late Administration. [See same Document No. 279, page 199.] He writes to Hayward of Linn thus:

"The general character of the Receiver, so far as I could learn, was that of a gentleman of honor and probity. In the transactions of his official business as a public officer, he seems to be polite and accomodating. Of his fidelity to the Government I have no doubt."

That this meant "fidelity" to the party, who can doubt? When it is seen that Linn could not even then, with every aid, show the amount of public money he acknowledged to be in his hands, and that a very large portion of the money for which Linn's securities are now held responsible, was expended in supporting the Executive party, there can be no doubt. I have recently ascertained, to a certainty, that large sums of money were advanced by him to support the VanBuren party; and that, in addition to considerable sums actually given by him to import into Illinois two Editors and presses, he advanced to one of them, (who was taken from this city) *the Editor of the State Register, the sum of $1,200, which he has never since*

been able to recover, although he is still the PRINCIPAL *VanBuren* EDITOR *in the State.*

From these and other facts, I am perfectly satisfied that this large default was mainly owing to the exactions of an unprincipled band of political gamblers, who, knowing his good nature and pliant disposition, and being apprised of his default and consequent servile dependence upon the Executive, did not hesitate to tax him freely to support the party; especially as there was a prospect of saddling his whole default upon their political opponents.

The Secretary's correspondence and the records, show that Linn continued to be a defaulter, after the third bond was given; and instead of dismissing him and warning [his sureties, he resorted to the] dishonorable and unjust expedient of requiring him to give a collateral, or as Mr. Woodbury calls it, a strengthening bond, in the penalty of $100,000; a sum large enough to save them any further trouble of looking after his accounts; and from this time he appears to have been allowed full latitude to use the public money as he pleased, which he no doubt did to the entire satisfaction of the Government party, as his previous default had called forth such regards for him by the President as are contained in Mr. Woodbury's letter, notifying him of his third appointment in 1835. Under this and the third bond, his default rose in about three years to a sum over $50,000; and if he had not then voluntarily resigned, there is no doubt it would have been permitted to increase to $100,000, the full penalty of the bond. His resignation took place in 1838; *and I solemnly aver, that I never knew or heard of his default until after that time,* nor do I believe that any of his securities ever did, unless the individual heretofore alluded to may have received warning, as I have reason to suppose he did. My residence is ninety miles from Vandalia; and I could only judge of Linn's solvency by public report and external appearances, which were all very much in his favor,—The public, and that portion of the securities residing at Vandalia, were equally deceived as to his integrity as a public officer, by the extravagant encomiums passed upon his punctuality and official conduct by General Spicer, and W. J. Brown, two government agents sent there under pretext, as I now believe, to examine his accounts, when the real object was to ascertain, whether there was any doubt of his fidelity to the party; and if he was found to be true, his default was to be concealed, by praising his official conduct, as they did publicly in the village.

Now, sir, I beg leave to assure you, that I am not disposed to ask or receive any favor from this or any Administration, that is not warranted by law and strict regard to the public interest. I am here without consultation with my co-securities. Knowing the situation of most of them, I came with as anxious a desire to shield them from ruin, as to relieve myself from debt and suspense; and although I may ever regret to see money so unjustly obtained put into the Treasury of the nation, I do not, and I am sure they would not, wish to evade the payment of one cent, that we are legally bound for. My only request now is, after having been prosecuted by the VanBuren Administration for two or three years, with the expense and vexation of defending four law suits in the District Court, and two in the Supreme Court, of the United States, that I may be allowed to pay the debt without ruinous sacrifice of our property in times like the present.

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH DUNCAN.

Washington City, 1st Dec., 1841.

NEW YORK, 11 Dec., 1841.

DEAR SIR: Not having received an answer to my letter, bearing date about the last of last month, I beg leave to call your attention to my proposal for paying the judgments against myself and other securities of the late Receiver of public moneys at Vandalia, Illinois. Since the date of that letter, I have received satisfactory information THAT MR. WOODBURY WROTE A CONFIDENTIAL LETTER TO THE HON. LEWIS F. LINN, ONE OF THE SECURITIES OF WM. LINN, informing him, that said Wm. Linn was a defaulter to Government for a large amount. This confidential letter was

inclosed to Wm. Linn by Dr. Linn, just before his third appointment; at which time he urged him strongly, by a letter from himself, to pay over the Government money in his hands. These facts establish beyond a doubt that Mr. Woodbury did not only connive at Linn's default, but that he used secret and dishonorable means to relieve his partisans and to entrap and if possible sacrifice his political opponents. No one can now doubt, that Dr. Linn, the near relation and intimate friend of the Receiver, would have signed his third bond for $20,000, and his strengthening bond taken soon after for $100,000, but for the secret warning thus given him by the Secretary of the Treasury. I learn by a letter from home, that the Marshal has again been at my house to levy on more property to satisfy these executions, as what I gave up in the first instance falls very far short of satisfying them. I also learn that he has received instructions from the Government to select a person to purchase the property of Linn's securities in, for the Government, at two-thirds of its value. Although I frankly confess, so far as I am individually concerned, that I should even prefer this sacrifice of my property, rather than to have every thing I own incumbered by judgments, which prevent the disposal of any portion of it to satisfy just demands against me, yet I am unable to perceive the justice or the propriety of the Government's claiming such an advantage of individuals who have evidently been circumvented by the official misconduct of unworthy and designing public officers.

I should despise myself, if I could, under any circumstances, be tempted to solicit or receive a favor at your hands, or from any other officer of Government; and I could not fail to condemn any public officer, who would, from feelings of friendship or from party relations, swerve from an independent, honorable and just discharge of his official duties. With these views, I submit with confidence to your sense of right and wrong, and of justice to all the parties (under the circumstances) whether the Government should not protect those securities from sacrifice by buying in their property at a fair cash valuation; which at present, when every kind of property is depreciated so much, must (under our law which requires the appraisement to be made on oath with reference to its cash value) cause great sacrifice of property, even if it should sell for its full appraisement.

In conclusion, I would beg leave to inquire whether justice to the other securities, does not require, that suits should now be instituted, or other means resorted to, to compel the Hon. Lewis F. Linn and the Hon. Charles Dunn, who were securities on Linn's two first bonds, to pay their portions of the judgments obtained on those bonds. Mr. Dunn is a United States Judge in Wisconsin, and Dr. Linn, you know, is Senator from Missouri. Hoping to hear from you soon, and to have this business brought to a speedy close.

I remain your obedient servant,

JOSEPH DUNCAN.

To the Solicitor of the Treasury.

21st Dec., 1841.

Office of the Solicitor of the Treasury.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the first, and eleventh instant, on the same subject; and to say that I regret that the demands upon my time of more pressing official business have delayed the consideration of the proposition submitted by you, which its nature and importance demanded, and a reply to it.

You propose on behalf of yourself and others, sureties of William Linn, late Receiver of public moneys at Vandalia, in Illinois, against whom judgment was rendered at June term of the District Court of the United States, on the official bonds of Mr. Linn, for several sums amounting to $28,597,21, "to pay the above debt in real estate to be valued under oath by two persons chosen by the United States, and one by the sureties."

The ground upon which you urge this proposition is, that "the laws of Congress" require "that deposits shall be made every three months, whether the sum in the hands of a Receiver be large or small; and that the Treasury regulations are explicit and positive, that whenever the sums received shall amount to ten thousand dollars, the Receiver shall forthwith make a deposit

of it;" and that these laws and regulations were disregarded by Mr. Linn, who was a defaulter at each successive period of his re-appointment. And you allege that this fact was well known to the President of the United States, Mr. VanBuren, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Woobury, who, as you say, "studiously concealed it from the public," and from all the sureties "except one gentleman, a prominent supporter of the party," who you say was secretly informed by the Secretary that Mr. Linn was a defaulter, and that in consequence of it he did not become his surety on his last bond.

You declare that this conduct of these high officers was a fraud upon the sureties; and that the default of Linn "was connived at by the Government," because he freely applied large sums of money to import into Illinois two Editors and presses, and to support the VanBuren party. And all this and the evidence to which you refer in support of it is presented as a ground for the just interposition of this office, so far to protect those sureties, as to permit the payment of the judgments obtained against them in lands at a fair valuation.

However reprehensible may have been the conduct of the officers referred to by you, you will readily perceive that if it did not constitute a defense to the bonds in favor of the sureties—and that I take to be the settled law in such cases—it cannot be made the ground of action by this office, or by the Executive government, in any way not warrented by law. However it might form a strong inducement to treat with lenity within the competency of the Government those unfortunate sureties, who have been made to suffer by the concealment complained of, there is no power here to relieve them. Congress, in my apprehension, alone possess this power.

What can be done to make the payment of the judgment recovered as easy to them as possible, and which may be compatible with my duty, I shall be prepared to do. But you well remark, that, however it may comport with the just policy of a benevolent government such as ours, to avoid as far as practicable, harshness towards those who, as sureties, have become liable to pay a debt, the power in regard to the collection of debts, is vested, and regulated by law, which only admits of the exercise of this spirit within prescribed limits. Indeed, I do not understand you as asking that anything should be done not strictly warranted by law, but on the contrary, you very properly disclaim any intention to do so; and I should not have made any remarks on this point; but from the fact that the case you present IS CERTAINLY A STRONG ONE FOR RELIEF, AND I CONSIDER IT DUE TO YOU TO SAY, THAT IT IS ONLY BECAUSE NO AUTHORITY, IN MY JUDGMENT, IS GIVEN TO THE OFFICE TO ACCEPT YOUR PROPOSITION, THAT I AM CONSTRAINED TO SAY I CANNOT ACCEDE TO IT. I am not authorized to permit real estate to be taken upon any terms in satisfaction of a debt, with the collection of which this office is charged. Power is given by express enactment to the Solicitor, to appoint an agent to purchase for the United States, lands of its debtors, sold under execution in their favor. The express and specific power so given excludes the idea of any other power to be inferred from the general duties enjoined upon the office.

You are misinformed in regard to the appointment of an agent to purchase in the lands of Mr. Linn for the United States—The Marshal has reported the name, as he is required to do by the general instructions of this office, of a suitable person to be appointed; but he at the same time informed me that he waited for a report of the District Attorney as to the titles. I have instructed him not to proceed with the sale until I have this report. When it comes in, the appointment of an agent will be made. The law of your State requires that lands sold on execution shall sell for two-thirds of their appraised value; and it has been the practice of this office to instruct agents to purchase only when lands sold, sell for less than that. Your information, no doubt, is in consequence of this practice. My letter of instructions to your Marshall was written a few days since.

Very respectfully,

CHAS. B. PENROSE,
Solicitor of the Treasury.

Joseph Duncan, *Esq.*

The Linn affair is referred to by Mrs. Duncan in her diary. On the 19th of March, 1841, Mrs. Duncan writes * * * "felt somewhat depressed from hearing of some persons taking advantage of my husband and they professing Christians. My pride wounded in regard to some things. The case has gone against Mr. Linn and I presume my dear husband will have to pay for it. He feels now as if every cent would go. I trust we shall be able to keep our home but if God sees best to take that from us I trust we shall be enabled to say thy will be done. I have been trying for some time to be enabled to be passive in the hands of God but oh how difficult." * * * There is frequent mention in her diary at this time of Mr. Duncan being absent in Springfield, going back and forth by stage.

The shadow of the anxiety of this affair is seen in the few remaining letters of Mr. Duncan. They are mostly concerned with business and trying to clear his property. In the last letter, written on the way to Washington, he emphasizes that his children must never, never go security for any one, and longs to be free. "If it takes all I possess" and then with fine courage the man of forty-nine is ready to begin over again and says, "I can easily provide a living."

On a trip to Washington a few months before his death Mr. Duncan writes home the following characteristic letter:

STEAMBOAT OHIO MAIL, 7th September, 1843.

"We are in hopes to reach Wheeling tomorrow evening though the river is very low. My time is spent in reading and sleeping.

I forgot to leave any money to pay the men 25 cents for bringing in the cattle from the springs. I hope they were paid. About the 15th of this month I expect a man to have 4 mule colts for me. Tell King to turn them with the other colts in some place where they can get plenty of water and plenty to eat. * * *.

We are now within a half days journey of Wheeling and the river is rising so I hope to have plenty of water on my return. If we get off in the morning, I hope and nothing happens I expect to be in Washington City on the 10th inst., and I sincerely hope to see you again within this month and to bring the glad tidings of having settled with the government and thrown off one of the greatest burdens that has been borne. Even if it takes all I possess to get rid of it, it will be a blessing. I shall at least be free and when so I can easily provide a living. I pray if I never see my children again that you will inculcate it upon them, as never to be forgotten, never to go any ones security. It has bound me in fetters for the last four or five years which have caused evils and losses that I can see, but which no one else would believe, if I were to tell them. Tell them that I never have gone security in my life, for great or small sums, without having had reason to repent of it and for them, never, never, under any consideration. Poverty is not to be dreaded, but the slavery of a debtor is abhorrent, and should be guarded against with as much care as they would preserve virtue and honor, for it drags them but too often in its drains.

I hope King will see that my hogs are properly fed and all kept in the proper place. I hope to make them pay off Wm. Brown's claim so as to free the Morgan House but if not he will be able to collect his pay or I can raise the balance somehow and when he, Wightman and Hughes are paid, you and our dear children will have enough secured to support you and educate them, a thing I have greatly at heart, as I should not die happy if I were to neglect to apply the funds left by your father for that purpose."

The Linn case was a severe blow to Governor Duncan and clouded the later years of his life up to his death in 1844. Hon. Wm. Thomas was appointed administrator of the estate and did his best to effect a

compromise but without result. Mrs. Duncan did not claim her third of her husband's estate and would have been reduced to complete poverty if it had not been for the trust fund left her by her father, which was not to be divided till her youngest child was of age. For this trust fund Mr. Duncan had set aside land in her name, of which Dr. Sturtevant was trustee. She was forced, from time to time, to get an order of court, to sell pieces of land to maintain the family and educate the children. My mother told of Colonel Hardin coming to the house on horseback one day, and protesting that General Duncan's children must be educated. The family kept the old home but the life for many years was reduced to the barest necessities. Mrs. Duncan, however, strove to give the children what opportunities she could. When Jenny Lind sang in St. Louis, Mrs. Duncan sold a cow so that her daughter Mary could hear the great singer, paying $25 for a seat. The incident illustrates the spirit with which she rose above her misfortunes.

Mrs. Duncan survived her husband many years, dying at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Julia Duncan Kirby, in Jacksonville, May 23, 1876. I remember her as a delicate, kindly little lady, always dressed in black silk and lace, and always expecting to be waited on.

CHAPTER VII.

Death January 15, 1844.

Governor Duncan returned to Jacksonville late in the fall of 1843 and died January 15, 1844, after a few days illness. Surrounded by his wife and seven children,[1] with his mind clear to the last, fearlessly he met death, leaving among other messages the following:

"My Friend: Let me beseech you to drop everything until you have made your peace with God. There is nothing in the wealth, in the pleasures or honors of the world, to compare with the love of the Saviour shed abroad in the human heart."[2]

Mrs. Duncan's diary has an unusual account of his last journey and subsequent illness.

Christmas (1843) was a day not to be forgotten. * * * He said in the morning before he arose, I must go to St. Louis today. I expostulated with him and remarked Mr. Duncan you are not well enough. Oh yes I am. As he had been obliged from cold to stay from Church the day before and the weather so unpleasant, I could not bear the thought. * * * he feared the river being closed so after breakfast he sat off in the stage. * * *.

He returned 2nd of January with a heavy cold—a few days later he complained of "taking my Death Chill"—I tried to persuade him to retire. No he would take the old Kentucky plan of lying down in front of the fire and he lay there till 6 o'clock. [When the doctor was finally sent for] Mr. Duncan said, "Dr. I am afraid I shall be like some man who never was sick but once in his life and then died."

[1] Of Governor Duncan's ten children only three reached maturity: Mary Louisa Duncan, wife of Charles E. Putnam of Davenport, Iowa; Julia Smith Duncan, wife of Hon. Edward P. Kirby of Jacksonville, Illinois; and Joseph Duncan of Chicago, Illinois. His only grandchildren were the eleven children of Mr. and Mrs. Putnam. Of these five are now living: Henry St. Clair Putnam, New York City; George Rockwell Putnam, Washington, D. C.; Elizabeth Duncan Putnam, Davenport, Iowa; Edward Kirby Putnam, Davenport, Iowa; and Benjamin Risley Putnam, Exeter, California. There are six great-grand-children. His eldest grandson, Joseph Duncan Putnam was a noted entomologist and influential in the building up of the Davenport Academy of Sciences. He died December 10, 1881.

[2] Funeral discourse delivered by President Julian M. Sturtevant, January, 1844.

On 15th January * * * the last remedy was used to no purpose [he had been bled a quart of blood]. * * * "Dr. Pierson," said he, "I die at peace with all the world. I wish to have the sacrament administered to me. I wish to commune with your Church. I bear malice to no one. Don't leave me Dr. till I die." To Dr. Jones he said the same. The Doctor remarked, "Gov. I have a lecture at three o'clock." "Leave that today." "I will Gov." he said. To Dr. Todd [of Springfield] he said, "I understand you do not belong to any Church. Lay aside your business till you find the pearl of great price. What avail is anything in comparison with the interest of the soul." * * * [to the children] Speak the truth * * *. His mind was clear to the last.

Sabbath—[Jan.] 21, [1844]. Dr. Pierson met me at the Church door and handed me to my pew with my little family of 7—the eldest 11 and the youngest 13 months. Mr. Eddy preached from Collossians 3rd Chap. 2nd verse. In the afternoon went to the Congregational Church and heard Dr. Post.

Dr. Truman N. Post of St. Louis wrote of this scene in a letter to Mrs. Kirby in 1884—

I was with him as he died and I received the confession of his dying moments. I shall never forget that night nor the figures and the grouping around that bed of death. The night winds were cut and there was a stir in the elements, as seemingly in sympathy with the hour when a great and strong soul was departing. * * * The sword given him by an admiring and grateful country hanging on the wainscoting over the bed. * * * That form of grandest manhood, strongest and noblest of all its physical types that were grouped around him in that chamber and seemingly assuring its possessor of the longest life, was in the wrestle with death. * * * Just as the pale, silent seal was set, I asked him: "Governor Duncan, is Christ precious to you at this hour?" Brokenly, but to our hearing distinctly came the response, the last words spoken by him till the earth and sea give up their dead: "Ever precious, ever precious"—and so the soul of our prince and brother passed to his Father and God.

Governor Duncan's last thoughts lay stress upon religion and the education of his children. Education had always appealed strongly to him both in its large aspects and in reference to his own family. For fourteen years he was a trustee of Illinois College and gave $10,000 in land to the institution. He was one of the first trustees of the State Deaf and Dumb Institution at Jacksonville. He took great interest in the temperance question and gave $500, half of his salary as Governor,[1] to the first society started in Jacksonville in 1837. In 1836 he subscribed $1,000 for the erection of a Presbyterian Church in Jacksonville."[2] He had joined the church the year previous.

He was very democratic and the views he impressed upon the mind of his daughter, Mary, (my mother), who was but 11 years old when he died, went with her through life. One of the stories she told was of coming home from school and laughing at a girl so poor, that she wore a linsey woolsey dress. Mr. Duncan said nothing, but the next day appeared with a bolt of linsey woolsey material which was made up and worn by his daughters for many a long day. Mary was trained to be an expert rider, going with her father when he hunted. She drove "Dancing Feather" while her father shot quail between the horse's ears. His word to control the horse must be carried out. The children were

[1] In this he followed the example of Governor Coles who gave his salary to the anti-slavery movement. See Nicolay-Hay, Lincoln, Vol. I, page 144.

[2] Letter of Mr. Coffin, Batavia, Illinois, to Mrs. Kirby, December, 1885.

trained in a most spartan manner in obedience and to endure hardship. He was adored by his children and family.

Thus died at the age of forty-nine Joseph Duncan, one of the pioneer builders of the State of Illinois. Independent and fearless in his views, honest and with respect for the law uncommon among the frontier men of his day, beloved by family and friends. He had traveled the untrodden prairies and forests and seen the Indians disappear and dreamed of the improvements "for convenience, beauty and commerce of our country," and had lived to see many of his dreams come true. He had defended the rights of the frontier settlers in all public land discussions in Congress during his entire service from 1827 to 1834, believing that the pioneers who endured hardships to open up a wilderness deserved justice and encouragement.

He appreciated the value of education, which he helped other members of his family to attain. He had introduced and secured the passage of the first public school law of Illinois. Throughout his public and private career he kept in mind the interests of education, and showed an appreciation for the higher things of life, all the more remarkable in a man coming from a pioneer state.

He believed in wise constructive internal improvements as essential for the development of the new western states, but when Governor from 1834 to 1838 he endeavored in vain to restrain and keep within bounds the lavish expenditure of the peoples' resources.

He consistently held to his ideals of law and justice through all his life. Every question that came up was considered from the point of view of law and order. In Congress he did not join in the claim of certain western states to the public lands within their bounds because this was contrary to the acts creating the states but he advocated a liberal interpretation of the law. While Governor he went east to negotiate a loan for the State for the canal and paid all his own expenses, "refusing to receive compensation therefor, because he believed in so doing he would be virtually offering violence to the Constitution of the State." He vetoed a railroad bill while Governor that would have greatly increased the value of his property because he thought it against the best policy for the State. In the Alton riots he felt both sides had done wrong in their lack of observance of the processes of law. In the same spirit he wanted counsel to be procured to defend the man who shot his brother in order that justice should be done him.

He maintained throughout his life his insistence on an efficient public service, insisting on no removals from office except for just cause and appointments made for fitness for service rather than for patronage. He refused to use his influence to procure offices for relatives. He placed the welfare of the State or nation above party interests. This independent view was shown as State Senator and continued throughout life. Parties might change their platforms and party leaders their views but he continued his way regardless of attacks of enemies and sometimes the loss of friends.

The records of his service in the Legislature, in Congress and as Governor prove his consistency in steadfastly maintaining these high principles in public life.

At a mass meeting held in Jacksonville the day after his death his fellow citizens adopted resolutions using these simple words:

"In the walks of both private and public life, a modest and unassuming spirit was his peculiar characteristic. As a private citizen or as a public officer, he was a man of uncommon decision of character. He had private interests, as other men, but, if circumstances required, these were ever the victims of principle. He indeed dared to be honest in the worst of times. This is no flattering portrait—it is strictly true."

APPENDIX.[1]

DIARY.

Joseph Duncan. Washington, 1829.

Feby. [—] 1829. Various applications for me to support D. Green for public printer. Could not consent to do so. Knew too much of him. Believed, and told his friend that they would soon get tired of him, he was arrogant dictatoral & possessed no fixed principals, believed he would use all of his influence to bring Govr. Edwards into favor with Genl. J. and his administration. G. threatened a member from Va. with his power for not voting for him.

Bearded a Senator from Pennsylvania made a false communication to the Senate about Blake of Boston the Senators generally disgusted with him but appear to be afraid to oppose him. B. K. McK. B. of Pa., K. of A. and several others say they dislike him and will vote for any other J. man in preference.

February, 1829. Genl. Jackson arrived in Washington City Majr. Eaton met him on the road and escorted him in. On the 17th I called to see him. 20th caled again found him engaged in another room, as I was informed by Capt. D. with the corps of Editors, after waiting a while Genl. Jackson entered the room followed by D. Green, Noah Karole Hill and several other persons that I did not know.

21st called again to introduce a friend saw Mr. Tazewell with the President. The only suitable companion I had met—called again a few days after Mr. Badwin was present from his kind reception supposed he had come by request. Saw Capt. Taylor of U. S. Army says he heard that Gen. J..... was going to call that day uppon President A..... that he met Genl. D. G. and told him that he understood that Genl. J. was to call on Mr. A. that day Genl. D. G. said he did not believe the report but that he would go and see, and if it was so, he would very soon put a stop to it. *Arrogance enough,* Disgusted to see W. M. L. Genl. D. G. I. P. V. &c. &c. constantly with Genl. J. to the exclusion of his or the countries friends. This brings to my mind McKee of A. when he parted with The President at The Hermitage he took a very impressave leave of Genl. J. The Genl. observing something unusual, remarked whe Wl. [?] I hope we shall soon meet again, McKee replyed yes Genl. we shall both soon be in Washington but there is no certainty that we shall meet, for I expect your new friends will be so zealous that all the old ones will be crowded into the back grounds McKee told me this ancedote before the Genl. arrived in the city.

[1] The diary is among the family papers.

Various rumors about the appointment of the cabinet
Tazewell to be Secretary of State Hayne navy, McLean war
Baldwin Treasury. Ingham P M G. all agree that the cabinet
will be composed of five of the following persons Tazewell
Vanburen McLane. Baldwin Hayne Hamilton (Ingham P M G) &
Cheves. My own choice T of Va S.S. McL S.T. B of Pa, War, I & [illegible] P M G

Genl Coffee arrived in the city came into the H of R. his red vest
attracts great notice every one whispers to his neighbour to know
who he is

~~Several~~ new Senators have arrived McLane of Illinois; letters
have been received stating that he obtained his election by a union
with the E & A. party, hope it is not so; have a better opinion of him,

Called to see the President he says he will remove no officer on
account of his political opinions, unless he has used his office for the
purpose of electioneering. he appears liberal, and I agree perfectly
with his views. ~~[illegible]~~

DUNCAN LETTER.

Feby. 23. From the persons who surround the Genl. I fear he is to be improperly influenced in his first appointments.

The central committee appear to consider him as there own game some of them are constantly with him or about the doors so I am informed for I do not know them all by sight.

I called to see Genl. J. at 7 o'clock in the evening with two friends Mr. S. C. & Johnson, the president expressed much pleasure at seeing us. Said he was more graitfyed to see us at that hour as Duff as he called him, had presumed to set his hours for him to receive his visitors but he said that would all be right, as he had ordered Green to correct the statement in his paper regulating his hours for receiving visitors. What excessive presumption, was the first feeling I had, but it is all right, as it must very soon place this character on his proper hole.

Various rumors about the appointment of the cabinett Tazewell to be secretary of State Hayne Navy, McLean War Baldwin Treasury, Ingham P. M. G. all agree that the cabinet will be composed of five of the following persons Tazewill Vanburen McLean Baldwin Hayne Hamilton (Ingham P. M. G.) & Chevis. My own choice T. of Va. S. S. McL. S. T. B. of Pa., War, I. of Pa. P. M. G.

Genl. Ogle arived in the city came into the H. of R. his red vest attracts great notice every one whispers to his neighbour to know who he is.

Several new Senators have arived McLeane of Illinois, letters have been received stating that he obtained his election by a union with the E. & A. party, hope it is not so, have a better opinion of him.

Called to see the President he says he will remove no officer on account of his political opinions, unless he has used his office for the purpose of electionering he appears liberal, and I agree perfectly with his views.

Herd various rumors about appointments in the cabinett wrote the following letter to the President

[Page in diary not filled]

4th March. Attended the President inaugeration, he walked from Gadsbies Hotell with his hat off, in a great crowd, having a fine view from the west room in the clerks office in the Capitol I could see him and the vast crowd at every point untill they assended the great steps which enters the Capitol, saw nothing that I disliked but the conspicuous station, and part acted by The Central Committee, Stood near the President when he read his address, was struck with the profound attention of the multitude while he read especially as I am convinced that three fourths of all present could not have heard the sound of his voice at least so as to distinguish one word. The expression of the people on his first appearance was very fine and showed that he had a strong hold on their affections the number present is variously estimated opinions of intelligent persons vary from 15 to 30 thousand. No perade of the Military present except one or two companies and they were very far off. I think they were from Alexandria as I saw one of them coming from that direction with this I was much pleased. I am opposed to great perades and especially Military perades on such an occasion, had rather see the honora

done after the service is performed, but in this District where most of the people are servants or connected with the Government is natural they would worship the rising Sun. I was forcably struck with the contrast between Mr. Addams entering on and closing his official duties as President. I was present in 1825 when his inaugeration took place it was a fine day and from the moment I first looked into the street on the 4th of March untill dark I saw nothing but a bustle people moving in all directions and many of them by sunrise in full military dress and by 10 oclock the avenue was crowded with armed soldiers, which I took to be a mixture of Marienes Infantry & Artilary of The U. S. and Militia of the district it was certainly the finest display I ever witnessed was informed that many of the fine coats had been bought to honor Genl. Lafayatt. I was glat to hear it for the ideah of there having been bought for this occasion was two ridiculous, in 1829, Mr. Adams was not seen on the 4th of March and I suppose would not have been thought of, but for a coffin hand bill that was circulated in the crowd anouncing his death in a most disgusting manner it produced general disgust did not go to the Palace to see the President receive his friends after the inaugeration understood that the crowd was very great all sorts of folks some on the fine satin chairs and sofas mehogna tables &c. with their feet a report was circulated that the gold and silver spoons were stolen on this occasion. I believe it was not true.

5th. The City is said to be filled with office hunters. There is general disappointment in the appointment of the cabinett Clay says that they charge Mr. A. with making a bargain that he thinks Genl. J. had better have made one. Genl. H. at the request of the T. deligation went to see the P. to oppose E....s appointment, Says it was not well received & that he will be appointed McL. of O. told me that he had agreed to accept the W. D. Learn since that E. wont take G. P. O. Strang things going on.

March, 1829. Governor Kinney & E. J. W. wish me to request the removal of certain officers from office which I decline as I am opposed to removing competent and worthey men on account of a mere difference of opinion. They appear to be dissatisfyed but that will make no difference in my conduct as such a course would be averse to all of my notions of propriety.

Went with Govr. K. to see the President, recommended West for Secretary of Legation to G. P. M. Minister to Columbia Genl. J. says he will try and provide for him.

Went to see Secretary of the Treasury, in favour of G. T. Pell he thinks he will appoint him examiner, the senators join in this recommendation. he is recommended by many members of the Legislature of Ills.

March, 1829. Kane McLeane & Myself met in McLeans room to consult about appointments in the event of any removals or vacancies. McLeane and myself opposed removals except for some good cause other than political (I had recommended the removal of James Mason for having speculated in the purchase of script while a public officer in possession of public moneys & possessing the records & law so as to give him an advantage over the poor people of the country for whos

benefit the script was granted.) K. rather differed in opinion about removals We agreed to recommend C. Slade for Marshall in the event of Conners removal as charges had been made against him. we did not all agree upon any one else nor can I say that we disagreed very much although several were named.

March, 1829. Still in Washington waiting on my wifes health called to see the President & Secretary of War about getting the Illinois & Lake Michigan Canal located and the rout from the Ills. River to Lake Erie examined. Saw Genl. Gratiott got him to go with me to the War Dept. find him very friendly to my views and to the west Secretary thinks the law does not authorize him to send Engineers to locate. refer to the case in Indiana under the same law. he appears disposed to do right & says if the favour has been done to Indiana it should also be extended to Ills. promices it shall be ordered.

March, 1829. Met Majr. Campbell of Tennessee near the Treasury Dept. he told me that the President & Secretary of War had given him the appointment of Superintendent of the lead mines on the Upper Mississippi River in Illinois & Michigan. I resolved to remonstrate against this appointment and informed Mr. Campbell of my intention. I went immediately to the President and told him that the appointment of a man from Tennessee to hold an office in Illinois would be treating his friends in that State very badly and that it could not help exciting much displeasure. he assured me that he would do nothing that would displease his friends any where if he knew it that Mr. Campbell was the only applicant. That he was not acquainted with the fact that so large a portion of those mines was in Illinois he wrote a note to the Secretary of War uppon the subject, and assured me that it should be satisfactorily arranged. I called the same day to see Majr. Eaton he appeared anxious to appoint Campbell I assured him that it would be resented by every Citizen of Illinois if he was appointed. I knew and so did all concerned know that C. was bankrupt for a large sum I urged the necessity if a change was made of their compelling the Superintendent to give bond and security as contemplated by my bill upon the subject of governing the mines, left the Secretary without much satisfaction, but convinced that he would insist on Campbells appointment.

Confined for several days on account of my wifes situation Saw John Reaves formerly of Ills. he told me that he saw Campbell the day before and that he told him of my opposition to his appointment, but that it had not availed as he was told to return home and the appointment should follow him. I immediately wrote the following letter to the President as I was determined that I would clear my self of the responsibility of transporting a man from another state who was notoriously insolvent in to Illinois to hold an office which placed in his hands $40,000 per annum of public property without check or security to protect the interest of the government (Note, cannot lay my hand on the letter) Got a letter from J. M. D. he wants to be appointed Indian agent in place of Graham or Hamtramock who he says Genl. Smith of Missouri informs him are to be removed he requests me to use my influence this I cannot consistently do as I am unwilling to ask or receive a favour which would place me under obligations to the executive power of the government while I am a representative of the people as the appointment

of my brother upon my request would have that tendency and I think every person applying for an office should have the recommendation of the people with whom he resides, or with whom he is to serve. This I do not doubt my brother could obtain if he pleased, he requests me to mention his wishes to the two Senators from Illinois which I have done and they both say they intend to recommend him.

Dined at the Presidents a splendid entertainment all the Secretaries W. R. Davis Genl. Varnum & myself of congress, Genl. McComb, Jessup Gibson & Gratio, Col. Gowson, and all the foreign Minesters in full dress were present with several other auditors &c. Majr. Eaton informed me that he had concluded not to change the nature of the agency at the mines that he had or would detail another officer of the U. S. A. to succeed Lt. Thomas and that he would have several assistants to appoint and invited me to recommend some persons to fill them I agree to see him the next day.

Went to War Office met D. Green coming out wondered if he had any person for one of those places & was told that he wanted Dr. Green of St. Louis appointed. I recommended the retention of McNight also recommended Col. Wight R. W. C.—Col. S. A. & R. B. L.—could receive no answer. he spoke of others out of the State for some of the places to which I objected.

Called again at the W. D. saw Com. Warrington go in while I was waiting in the ante chamber understood from Secretary that he was urging the appointment of his brother in law Capt. for one of the appointments at the mines, and felt satisfyed that he had received a promice, also learned that Campbell of Tennessee was to the best situation, not well satisfyed but must submit.

Understand that J. M. D. is sick in Boston.

Wrote to Genl Gratiott about sending Engineers to Locate Ills. & Lake Michigan Canal &c.

April, 1819. E. J. W. returned to the City Left K..... in Baltimore he has a strong recommendation from Merchants and other persons of distinction in the City of New York recommending for Charge De affairs to

I went with him to see the P. and V. they say they would appoint him but the appropriation for that purpose is exhausted.

Govr. Kinney arived very anxious for Wests appointment delighted with his trip to the North says he left Jas. M. D. in Boston getting better to come on with Capt. S. D. Richardson went with K. to see the president he tells the Pr. that his appointments in Boston gave genl. Satisfaction says the people expects the Adams men to be returned out. The P. expressed pleasure at hearing his appointments gave such satisfaction K. urges the necessity of removals says the republicans had fought hard and had gained a great victory but if the old Federalists were left in office the same battle will have to be fought over again. he said if it was left to him he would drive them all out as he would a parcle of dogs out of a meat house.

The P. laughs hartily at this remark but made no reply returning we met Handy of Indiana at Wiliamsons K. asked him if he had been here ever since he saw him—he said he had. K. advised him to go home or some one would administer on his estate. The little fellow bore the

joke very well & replyed that they would be poorly paid for their trouble if they did There is many others in the city who were running the same risque.

Kinney came to see me said that Eaton would appoint a citizen of Ills. to one of the offices at Galena if I would recommend one which I rather declined as felt indignant at the appointment of citizens of Tennessee & Va. to hold offices in Illinois K. wants May appointed I could not join him as I had promised Col. A. G. S. W. to recommend him for a place at the mines.

Went with K. to W. D. and recommended A. G. S. W. never done any thing with more reluctance as I feared that it might be considered as a surrender of the ground I had taken agains the other appointments. E. asked me if I had heard from my brother, who was sick in Boston expressed a wish to see him &c. Ky. said something about his appointment of I. A. Eaton said that he had come to no conclusion but thought he would appoint him & requested me to recommend him which I declined by saying that my brothers must rely upon others to recommend them. dont like the proposition believe it was intended to get me so committeed so that if I complained of the other appts. it might be attributed to disappointment in this.

Kinney informs me that he has Wights commission that the salery is less than the rest and less than was promised.

24th May, 1828. Received a letter from S. B. Munn to J. M. Duncan which informed me of his having left N. York for Washington.

26th. Left Washington for Illinois in company with 2 Indian agents Govr. Kinney & E. I. West West has some hopes of an appointment of charge De affairs next winter.

About the 1st of July, 1829, left Illinois for Hopkinsvill in Ky. Arived at My aunts on the 3d.

4th of July was invited to a public barbacue by the citizens of Hopkinsville, was tosted and made a speech.

5th. Mrs. Morehead died very sudently,

6th. Court commenced.

7th. Settled my business and agreed to pay the Executor of J. McLaughlin one thousand dollars one half on the 15th of Feby. 1830 and one half on the 15th of Feby. 1831 for which I gave checks on the U. S. Bank at Washington City in full of all claim.

[Note:—written across page]—Have paid those checks and owe the estate of Jas. H. McLaughlin nothing.

8th. started for Nashville & lodged at Ben Kellies.

9th. Stayed..... 10th stayed at Tirees or White Creek Springs.

11th. Went to Nashville found Thos. family from home, dined at Edmonsons & went to Mc Stothartt.

12th. Thomas returned from an electionering tour.

15th. Pursuaded him to decline running for the Senate Dined with J. Bell.

16th. Went to theatre with Col. Foster & Family Returning from J. Bells rode in with Col. Wilson Editor of a paper published in Nashville

he had just returned from Washington City. I asked him if he had seen much of Genl. Jackson while at Washington he had, I enquired if he had observed any changes in his intelect he replied that he visited Washington in consequence of having observed that the Genls. mind had sunk about the death of his wife and that he regreted to find that it was sinking he dreaded the news by every mail for he and the Genls. friends generally feared his total incompitelly [word not distinct. Incompetency?]

Received a letter from James M. D. after his return to Illinois, he says that Majr. T. P. M. was informed by Majr. W. B. Louis that he would not be appointed Indian agent owing to my being opposed to the measures of Genl. Jacksons administration, that Majr. Eaton talked about the duty of men to make sacrifices about patriotism &c. &c.

In answer I wrote the following letter:

[Page in diary blank]

July 25th arived at Glasgow. Sold my horse for $50, and went to see Jo. Duncan.

July 26th. Sold Jo. Duncan two hundred acres of land belonging to the heirs of my father at one dollar & fifty cents per acre amounting to three hundred dollars at a credit of two and three years.

July 28th. Arrived at Harrodsburgh Springs in company with bishop Ravenscroft of N. Carolina found him very agreeable and inteligent Saw H. Clay just starting to Danville to attend a dinner [?] Eat breakfast and went to Lexington same night.

July 29. Sunday went to hear the Bishop preach to to hear Mr. J. Young at night. got at Harrodsburgh a handbill of Kinkade charging M. V. B. W. T. B. & others with writing letters to influence the election.

1829. July 30. Arived in Paris visited many of my old friends the next day, remained in Paris untill the 12th of August Spent my time rather unpleasantly owing to the political controversies among many of my old friends Advertised lots for sale had an auction but effected but little, sold pond lot for fifty two dollars to Pike This was all I sold at auction Sold one other lot of my sisters to Pike for one hundred and fifty Dollars sold brother Johns lot to Wm. Alexander for one hundred and ninety dollars in cotton sold him the stone house & attached ground for six hundred dollars in cotten at 15 cents per doz Sold H. Brent my lot on public square for one hundred and fifty 2 dollars gave checks to Garrard Hickman Bain Moreland McElvain & Ingles & Burr and closed all of my accounts and liabilities in Paris except a small balance to Garrard & Hickman which will remain after the checks are paid Sold one of Jo. Duncans notes for one hundred and fifty dollars to Wm. Alex.r for $145. in cotten at 15 cts per Doz transfered the other to Thos. & Will Kelley of Paris to pay brother Johns debt for same amount $150 the money or cotten received for Stone house I expect to sell to pay my checks as I owed the debts to Garrard & Hickman on account of money borrowed out of Bank to send my brother Thos. A. Duncan to school which with the interest amounts to much more than the price received for said House but I never expect to

make further claim for this and other monies I have advanced to & for my brother. The one hundred and fifty dollars is to be paid my sister for the lot I sold to Pike for that amt. only, having sent cotten for the one sold for fifty two to her at Illinois.

20th March 1830 Handed Mr. Kane by request two recommendations to the Secretary of War in favour of James M. Duncan for Indian agent The 1st signed by James Hall, Charles Prentice, R. K. McLaughlin, James Black, E. C. Berry, Wm. H. Brown & James Whitlock (30th Nov 1829) The 2nd was signed by T. W. Smith, J. D. Lockwood, Wm. Wilson and Thomas C. Brown dated Dec 8th 1829

E. K. K. senator told H. H. Maxwell & myself that he had dined twice & had the 3d invitation to dine with the president 18th of March. This is to my mind another conclusive proof that the President does not rely upon the propriety of his acts or appointments for the support of the senate as I have heard of no member of the H of R being invited more than once but this is only one of many instances that I have observed of an effort to conciliate the senate to use no worse term.

WILLIAM MURRAY, TRADER AND LAND SPECULATOR IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY.

By Anna Edith Marks.*

I. INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.
II. WILLIAM MURRAY, TRADER IN ILLINOIS.
III. WILLIAM MURRAY, LAND SPECULATOR IN ILLINOIS.
CONCLUSION

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Survey.

The untold possibilities of the extensive and fertile Mississippi Valley were practically unknown to the British when they became sovereigns of this region by the Treaty of Paris in February, 1763. It was evident that a colonial policy needed to be determined and inaugurated in order to protect the Indians from exploitation by the unscrupulous traders; and thus dispel their well founded distrust of the English. But the many conflicting opinions as to the nature of such a policy and the dissensions among the ever changing ministries in England proved an insurmountable obstacle to the launching of whatever policy was planned.

In England, westward expansion was viewed from three angles—there were some persons who heartily favored it as a means of producing markets for English goods; others who favored a gradual process; while there were those who, deeming its primeval condition more conducive to fur trading, absolutely disapproved of any settlements west of the Appalachian Mountains.

The first definite constructive work towards a colonial policy after 1763 was done by the youthful Lord Shelburne, then President of the Board of Trade. Realizing the emigrating spirit in the eastern colonies and the temptation to occupy the rich lands in the West, he wished to satisfy this tendency but at the same time to pacify the anxious fears of the Indians who saw their hunting grounds gradually shrinking in size. For these reasons, building upon the work of his predecessors, he proposed that a boundary line be run beyond which no white settlements could be founded until the Imperial government had purchased the land from the Indians. The ministry, considered this boundary line merely a flexible and temporary demarcation which would be extended westward as new purchases would from time to time be made by the English government. This plan would allow for a gradual and legitimate settlement of the West.

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Unfortunately fate doomed its execution to be postponed. Pontiac's War allowed no time for the establishment of such a carefully laid boundary line; and so on October 7, a proclamation naming the Appalachian Mountains as the termination of settlements was issued by Lord Shelburne's successor, Lord Hillsborough. It was not until the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in November, 1768, that the boundary line favored by Lord Shelburne was accepted by the Iroquois Indians.

The regulation of fur trade was one of the paramount considerations of the ministries when they viewed western policies. The only restriction upon fur trading, according to the Proclamation of 1763, was the need of licenses which the governors of the respective colonies were to issue to prospective western traders upon their promise to obey any new trade regulations. In the summer of 1764, the Board of Trade proposed that an Imperial department of Indian affairs, dependent neither upon the military commander-in-chief nor upon the colonial governments, be credited. A detailed administrative system was worked out and a corps of officials, including superintendents for the territory north and south of the Ohio, were to be appointed.

But once again the hope of obtaining a system of administrative control for the West was blighted. A tax on fur trade had been suggested as the means of defraying the expenses necessary for such a centralized organization by the Old Whigs, who were responsible for the repeal of the odious Stamp Act, were adverse to passing an act of colonial taxation. As a result, no Imperial plan was put into execution by the home government. In March, 1768, the control of Indian trade was again placed in the control of the individual colonies.[1] Since the latter did not agree as to one common policy, uncontrolled trading resulted. In this same month, steps for some regulation had been taken in Illinois. Captain Forbes, the commandant at Fort de Chartres, ordered all traders to state the number of packs that they were sending down the Mississippi and also to give a security of £200 to the effect that these goods were destined for a British post. The governor of Louisiana was notified to keep the people of his province from ascending the Illinois, Ohio, and Wabash Rivers. But these measures actually did little to prevent New Orleans from receiving most of the Illinois peltry.

No complete system of civil government for the West was provided until the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774. This negligence, most likely due to the prevalent ignorance of the character of the villages and to the desire of promoting the fur trade rather than settlement, caused the French much discomfort. Consequently we find the task of maintaining order devolving upon the English commandants. This duty, which did not legally belong to their office, was very poorly executed by the military men.[2]

Although several attempts had been made to relieve the French garrison at Fort de Chartres during Pontiac's War, it was not until 1765 that the Illinois country was actually occupied by the British troops.[3] The British and Colonial governments felt that once the British garrison took possession of the posts, trade, which followed its natural outlet through New Orleans, could be directed eastward up the Ohio and centered in Pennsylvania. Meanwhile traders in Pennsylvania watched

conditions with a hopeful eye, ready to seize their first opportunity to participate in any advantages resulting from the Treaty of 1763.

Fort Pitt at the head of the Ohio River was the rendezvous of groups of eastern merchants interested in fur trading. The first company to enter actively into the exploitation of Illinois was that of Baynton and Wharton, later known as Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, when the name of Baynton's son-in-law, George Morgan, was added. Morgan, young and full of optimism, became their personal representative in Illinois. As early as March, 1766, five bateaux of their goods, to be exchanged for the Indians' peltry, were making their way down the Ohio, under the command of John Jennings.[4] In order to discourage the Shawnee from carrying their furs to other traders at Fort Pitt, this firm had established a post on the Scioto River. But certain merchants had no intentions of allowing Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, to monopolize the fur trade. On October 4, 1766, Simon and Milligan, John Gibson, Alexander Lowrey, and others at Fort Pitt protested to Sir William Johnson, Indian superintendent, against the establishment of the Scioto post.[5]

Especially opposed to Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan was the Lancaster group of merchants whose pioneering and speculative spirits were as fresh in 1768 as in 1748, when they expended their first efforts towards the West. The mere mention of names of Joseph Simon, David Franks, George Croghan, and William Trent recalls a host of trading operations in which they figured prominently. Probably the most important merchants of this group were Joseph Simon[6] and David Franks who composed the firm of "Levy and Franks." In addition to their individual enterprises, it was customary for these men to enter from time to time into special partnerships with each other. Their special interest was fur trading and Lancaster was early the origin of many such expeditions into the present states of West Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky.

To be concerned in the activities of this group was a practical preparation for western fur trading. Two enterprising young men, Barnard and Michael Gratz, were especially fortunate in receiving such a business education. Each in turn became a clerk in David Franks' Philadelphia counting house, Barnard in 1754, and Michael in 1759; and thus acquainted with David Franks' associates. Their relationship was further enhanced by the marriage of Michael in 1759 to the daughter of Joseph Simon. After 1760, the two brothers were often concerned together in various business operations, but in 1768 they formed the wholesale firm of B. and M. Gratz of Philadelphia. Their natural interest in the West was greatly stimulated in the summer of 1768, by their knowledge of the Iroquois Confederacy's intention to cede land in the present state of Virginia to traders who had suffered losses during Pontiac's War.[7] It was in that year that William Murray made his debut into Illinois history as their agent.

But who was this William Murray and why was he chosen to represent the Gratz Brothers in Illinois, one may well ask. The question of his identity is moot. In November, 1764, a Capt. William Murray of the forty-second regiment of Royal Highlanders, commanded five companies at Fort Pitt. It is probable that he had taken part in the

critical battle of Bushy Run, the year before, under Colonel Bouquet.[8] We have record of him still acting as commandant at Fort Pitt late in the year of 1766.[9] While in charge of Fort Pitt, he became intimately acquainted with George Croghan, the deputy agent of Indian affairs, and possibly with his associates. In this frontier post, he learned first hand the frontier practices—the squatters, and the ensuing Indian resentment, and at one time was ordered to remove some homesteaders at Red Stone Creek.[10] Being in frequent communication with Major Farmar and his successors at Fort de Chartres, Captain or Major (these titles were used interchangeably) Murray was no stranger to the conditions existing in Illinois. Moreover, the Western traders and merchants, waiting to embark on new ventures and returning from previous ones, gathered at Fort Pitt where they talked over their anticipations and disappointments, sold their peltry, purchased new merchandise, and gossiped about conditions in general. Captain Murray himself, purchased merchandise from Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan with which to alleviate the almost continuous complaints of the Indians. The fact that Captain Murray was well acquainted with western conditions and men added to the absence of his name in the Pennsylvania Archives after William Murray appears in Illinois, suggests that they may have been one and the same man. Of course, it is possible that he may have sailed with those Royal Highlanders who left America in 1767.[11] At present, the question has not been definitely decided.

CHAPTER II.

William Murray, Trader in Illinois.

William Murray, trader and land speculator, before going to Illinois was not unacquainted with the East. Such reference as: "You know him (David Franks)," by Michael Gratz in writing to Murray, "when he takes a thing into his head, it is not so easily forgot," and "Since my Brother Barnard's letter to you, mentioning his going to London in company with your old and esteemed friend, Miss Richi Franks," lead us to infer that Murray knew the Franks family exceedingly well.[12] As an "old and esteemed" friend, Murray must have known "Miss Richi" for many years.[13] His letters to and from the Gratz display much intimacy and regard for each other. Almost every letter contains some personal touch. The Gratz continually send wishes for Murray's health and remembrances to his family in which Mrs. Gratz and her children joined. Such allusions as the following are characteristic of the friendliness and good will of the Gratz towards Murray; "I am glad to hear you made so good a hand of the goods you took with you, whether we are concerned in them or not, and I shall always be glad to hear of the welfare of our friend, who I hope will not forget us.[14] In Philadelphia, Murray had a large circle of friends who, John Ormsby wrote Murray after he reached Fort de Chartres, joined him in his wishes for his safe arrival and future success.[15]

Ormsby with whom Murray had had business relations, was well acquainted with the Murray family. The latter consisted of Mrs. Murray, Franky and Miss Jenny, all of whom followed Mr. Murray to the West.[16]

Murray had named Gratz as his attorney to close up his affairs in the East—to settle all outstanding debts and to find a purchaser for his land in Shearman's valley. Having much faith in Barnard Gratz's fairness he left the terms of its disposal to his discretion.[17] The disposal of his land would seem to indicate that he regarded his future home in Illinois as rather permanent, an assumption strengthened by the fact that his wife and two children soon joined him.

Murray's partnership with the Gratz must have been formed in the early summer of 1768, for he intended to accompany Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins to the Illinois country. The latter with five companies of the eighteenth regiment was to relieve Captain Forbes and the garrison at Fort De Chartres. Although Wilkins left Philadelphia early in June, due to obstructions from the inhabitants in the back parts of Pennsylvania, he was unable to embark upon the Ohio before July 20.[18]

These intervening weeks gave Murray ample time in which to make the final preparations for his new venture. On his way up to Fort Pitt, he stopped at Lancaster and visited Mr. Simon, whom we are not surprised to find a factor in Murray's expedition. Indeed part of his cargo to the value of £600 had been purchased of "Levy and Franks" (of which Mr. Simon was a partner) and £100 of silver work, including rings, bracelets, and earbobs, of Mr. Simon.[19] These invoices, however, were both on the account of Moses Franks, Arnold Drummond, and Company of London.[20] The Gratz were likewise sending an adventure in this cargo.[21] Thus we see how closely interwoven were the interests of the London and American merchants in the westward movement and how they both were gaging probable benefits to trade from the coming Fort Stanwix conference with the Indians. Murray's personal account amounted to £320, and consisted mostly of shoes and stockings for soldiers.[22]

The Fort Pitt wharf on the hot July day of embarkment was the scene of much commotion. Moving excitedly amongst the scarlet clad soldiers and roughly dressed traders, was William Murray—now shouting orders (often mingled with his fluent and colorful profanity) to the men busily engaged in unloading the casks of rum, the sacks of sugar and coffee, and the precious rifles and silverwork from the wagons as they slowly came up; now hastening to see that they were carefully reloaded upon the large flat boats; now assigning new tasks to his clerk, Mr. Burk, or himself taking a hand in the loading. And yet he was not a little pleased when he stopped to reflect, for the King's bateaux were carrying his cargo. This arrangement saved him the cost of bateaux men's wages and provisions, not a small item in transportation expenses. The long journeying about the intricate windings of the Ohio River for over a thousand miles to its mouth, was enlivened by the pursuit of game, which proved very abundant after the Scioto River was reached;[23] by occasional trading through which Murray fortunately disposed of most of his shoes and rum; and by shooting the falls of the Ohio,[24] which was reached August 8. When about 150 miles below the falls, the newcomers were initiated into the gruesome side of their new life, for news came of the murder of several hunters by Indian war parties. The journeyers met with no great impediments, until the rapid and muddy Mississippi was reached. In spite of their greatest exertions

they were unable to ascend the strong current until scouts, going ahead to Fort de Chartres, sent back boats in which part of the cargoes were loaded.[25]

Fort de Chartres was reached early in September and on September 5, Colonel Wilkins took charge of the fort. The sight of the square stone fort with its many loop holes and bastion at each corner and the nearby stone barracks, commanding a view, on the one side, of the Mississippi, and on the other, of the vast expanse of meadows with their tall swaying grasses stretching out till they mingled with the distant horizon, must have soothed their fatigued spirits.[26]

Upon his arrival at Fort de Chartres, Murray lost no time in starting the business for which he had come to Illinois. His activities fall into three classes: trading, provisioning the garrison at Fort de Chartres, and land speculation. Although the thread of each can be discerned as distinct in character, still being discharged by the same person and at the same time, they tend to overlap at many points. Due to the often seeming complexity of his duties, we shall consider each one not only separately but also as related to each other.

Being desirous of establishing a business in Illinois, Murray soon became acquainted with his new surroundings. Of course he was not a total stranger, for on his trip he had learned to know Colonel Wilkins and most of the troops. Then too, as provisioner of the garrison, he was almost immediately thrown into constant communication with the military population. But there was one person who watched Murray's activities with no little concern. Murray's venture was not unknown to the far-sighted George Morgan, agent of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, who long before Murray's arrival had been anticipating such a business rival with no few misgivings and had sent each tiny scrap of information concerning him to his firm. He had tried, however, to minimize the probable results of his competition with Murray, writing: "Depend upon it unless Mr. Murray be an adapt in business and the French tongue, he will not soon make himself master of the trade here."[27] What he feared most was that Murray might have negroes to sell, which at that time commanded anything in the market, such as flour, cattle, and furs.

Baynton and Wharton had not remained inactive in the East where they had gleaned much knowledge of the business intentions of their prospective competitor.[28] They and Morgan were both aware of Murray's appointment as the Illinois agent not only of B. and M. Gratz but also of the London syndicate of Messrs. Franks, Nesbitt, and Sir Robert Colebrook who had contracted to supply the British garrisons in America.

Soon after Murray reached Illinois, Morgan had frequent conversations with him. Vigilant as ever, he wrote his colleagues: "Most of Murrays other goods (that remained after his vendues along the Ohio) will remain with him unless we find it prudent to purchase the whole from him—which I assure you I am no ways anxious to do—I shall exceed my own judgment rather than let him into the spirit of the trade. But in doing this I shall be in no hurry—for except for a few quarts of rum and some pairs of shoes he has sold nothing."[29]

Morgan admitted, that he was particularly anxious to deprive Murray of his silver work which was greatly coveted by the Indians. But being desirous of selling Murray provisions, he acted very civilly toward him. Morgan, well educated and a man of cultured tastes, could prove a charming companion if he so desired and Wilkins and Murray could frequently be found dining with him. Occasionally, commissary Cole, McMillan, and Richardson joined this trio.

With Mrs. Murray's coming in November, life in Illinois became more comfortable and happy for Murray, especially as his home was enlivened by his two children, Frank and Miss Jenny.[30] Murray soon became very attached to his new home and developed much confidence in the possibilities of the Illinois country. "With a number of industrious Germans," he felt Illinois would make one of the finest countries in the world. Proper settlement in his estimation would certainly tend to drive away the common and distressing ague.[31] He had himself, made a small purchase of land which he felt if he has a "genius for husbandry would turn to good account." By land conveyances and vendues he was sure he could more than clear himself.[32]

Let us follow Murray in his activities as a western merchant. To understand more clearly his trading activities it is advisable to consider them as dividing into the following periods: from his arrival in Illinois in September, 1768, until his partnership with James Rumsey formed on May 19, 1770; from the formation of this partnership, until the fall (probably October 19) of 1770 when it was merged into that of "David Franks and Company;" from the fall of 1770 until April 3, 1773, when Murray was appointed their attorney to close up their business in Illinois; from April 3, 1773, until his final departure from Illinois, during which period he acted now independently and now in partnership with others.

Before turning to an examination of each individual period, let us consider some general considerations which are true for the whole time. The merchandise sent to Illinois was diverse in nature, extending from rat and mouse traps (for the preservation of the peltry) to soap which lost in its competition with the homemade brands of the industrious French housewife. The "Indian goods," often sent, included among its scores of articles, guns, axes, kettles, pipes, blankets, scarlet cloth, linen, ribbons, laces, and silver trinkets as, hair ornaments, earrings, bracelets, and arm bands. Of course, large quantities of clothing were sent. There were occasional orders for shoes—as one order by Rumsey for one dozen "women's neat clogs."[33] In the cloth line, coarse goods, and checks were found the most salable. There was always a large demand for rum, wine, tea (green and bohea), coffee, spices and sugar, with which the inhabitants were prone to vary their plain diet. We have record of one shipment by the Gratz to "Franks and Company" consisting of fifty pounds of loaf sugar at 11½ pence (25 cents) a pound and thirty-two gallons of spirits at 51 pence ($1.05) per gallon, totaling over £9 or $45.[34] When we stop to think that today we complain if sugar sells at ten cents a pound, and then consider the scarcity of money in those days and its greater purchasing power, we realize that it was indeed a luxury for the frontiersmen. The beverages were especially welcome during the frequent and distressing epidemics of the malaria.

The greater portion of this merchandise was shipped from England, often in the boats of Mr. David Sproat,[35] a Philadelphia merchant and boat owner. These goods were either spoken for in advance by the American merchants, or purchased in England by them (if they chanced to be there) or by their relatives and friends who were constantly on the lookout for goods suitable for western trade.[36] These wholesalers, such as David Franks, Joseph Simon, and the Gratz Brothers in turn forwarded this merchandise in the contractor's bateaux, carrying provisions for the troops, to the traders such as Murray and Rumsey actually stationed in Illinois.

During Murray's independent trading and his brief partnership with Rumsey, sometimes he was concerned alone in these shipments as his portion (valued at £320) of the first Gratz cargo to Illinois—or sometimes the Gratz were concerned alone. When he was concerned alone, the Gratz merely acted as wholesalers, as did "Levy and Franks." The latter concern sent the largest amount of the goods which was sold on Murray's own account or on that of Gratz and Murray. The usual practice was for Murray and the wholesalers to be jointly concerned in them. Interesting is the consignment of jewelry valued at (£95:8:6) sent by the Gratz as adventure for their children, Rachel, Solomon, and Frances. We note that the Gratz agreed to have it sold either on commission or else by allowing Murray and Rumsey to be one-quarter concerned in it.[37] Due to the complexities of the business arrangements between Murray and his associates, it is impossible to estimate his profits accurately.

Murray's first cargo turned out exceedingly well. By June, 1769, he was able to remit the Gratz, £239:19:0 ($1,167) assuring them if he had had time to get in fees, vendue commissions, and outstanding debts of his own private sales he could have made this check for £500 ($2,430) more. He had also sent David Sproat, of whom he had purchased his first goods with a bond payable in December, the full amount of this bond with interest till the twenty-ninth of August.

After 1768, due to the transference of the management of the Indian affairs to the colonies, Wilkins was forced to manage the local Indian affairs. Fortunately for the business interests of the traders, Wilkins succeeded in keeping most of the Indians pacified. There were, however, continual rumors of an Indian war and threatened attacks upon Fort de Chartres in 1769 and several white settlers about the Post were murdered.[38] Murray, somewhat worried, warned the Gratz brothers that he feared mischief on the Ohio. By the spring of 1769, Murray had already felt the effects of the competition with the French traders at St. Louis and Sainte Genevieve, who succeeded in keeping many Indians away from the stores at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Chartres village. But he was too clever a business man, knowing the conditions, to "stock up" in Indian goods, and therefore advised the Gratz not to send much goods.[39] In spite of his wish that they should send him other goods on their joint account by the first bateaux, Michael Gratz refrained from doing so partly because of fear of a war by the discontented Senecas,[40] because of the scarcity of goods (due to the non-importation act) and because Mr. Franks insisted upon using for other purposes the goods coming in Mr. Sproat's boat, although the Gratz Brothers had spoken

for them.[41] Knowing that the purchase of the goods in Philadelphia would be more expensive, they deterred from forming a cargo.

Meanwhile Murray was in the depths of despair in not receiving a large cargo. He sent a letter to the Gratz full of disappointment. So disheartened was Murray, that he even suspected that the goods were not sent because his partners doubted his ability to pay for them. If this were the case, he felt that Mr. Franks would have advanced the money—besides "[he] would have made [a] remittance before the goods produced [it]."[42] It was not the real Murray, buoyant and optimistic, who spoke thus. Being attacked for the sixth time with the fever, we can well understand his mood, especially when he concluded with the saying so common during our recent epidemic, "I must go to bed and sweat." His despondency only accentuated his tastes for the luxuries of a more civilized life, for he exclaimed: "A plague! why did you not send some good spirits, sugar, tea, Port wine, if possible, and some little et ceteras for my own use?"[43] This plea was answered by a cask of madeira, as with thorough searching Michael Gratz was unable to procure any port.[44] Murray's letter of September, brought a very gracious and reassuring reply from Michael Gratz. He was assured that it was not any possible diffidence in his honor which prevented a shipment of goods, but merely a lack of goods, when the last bateaux left for the west, due to the non-importation act.[45] Furthermore he was gathering a cargo to be shipped in the spring. He kept his promise faithfully, notifying Murray in April, 1770, that he had sent goods to the amount of £608:11:4 *Penn.*, ($1,760) in the contractor's bateaux. It is interesting to note that Gratz credited Murray in their accounts with £186:7:11½ ($906) as one-half share of the profits of this venture.[46] From such transactions, we see that their profits were often one hundred per cent. One must remember that their risks were correspondingly great.

We are rather surprised to find George Morgan's right hand man, James Rumsey,[47] going over to the enemy. Morgan had written of him on September 19, 1769, "It would be a principal part of my happiness to go hand in hand with a union of souls with Mr. Rumsey, through the different stages of life enjoying and partaking of each other's blessings or sorrows. This associate of Morgan, entered into partnership with Murray on May 19, 1770.

The articles of agreement stated that Murray and Rumsey were to be partners at Kaskaskia for three years. Murray was not to be hindered in functioning as Commissary to the troops at Fort de Chartres nor as the agent of the Gratz Brothers. The £340 of goods which Murray had on hand were to be put up on their joint account, and they bound themselves to the amount of £1,000. This agreement stipulated that David Franks, if he so desired, should be admitted as a joint partner.[48] This latter step was taken in the fall of 1770. The Gratz Brothers and Alexander Ross became the other members of this firm designated as "David Franks and Company."

James Rumsey entered immediately into the spirit of this new partnership. In January, he intended to take invoice of the unsold goods belonging to the Gratz and to put them on the joint account. By the first of the new year he had disposed of the most salable part of the spring cargo sent by the Gratz Brothers. On January 26, he sent them

a public bill for the amount of £640 in order to show them how much he had the interest of "Mr. Murray's friends" at heart. Since Murray had gone East on a business trip, he was very busy attending to their three stores, performing his duties as Secretary to Wilkins, and counteracting the machinations of his former friend, Morgan, whom he now characterized as a "Bedlamite."[49] Morgan's relations were also severed with Wilkins, and between 1770 and 1772, Illinois was torn with party strife —Morgan leading the opposition, composed mostly of disconnected French, against Rumsey and Wilkins.[50]

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan determined to withdraw from Illinois in the Spring of 1771. Murray informed Gratz on May 7, that he and Rumsey had purchased a large part of that firm's residue of merchandise.[51] This transaction caused the Gratz no little concern, and they wrote October 2,—"was sorry to hear of the large purchase which was made of B. W. and Morgan's old goods, which I suppose must be a great deal of damaged and unsalable goods amongst. Such a large sum as we are told they expect in payment for the goods next month—I am sure they cannot get without a large remittance from you."[52] Gratz seems to have had suspicions of Mr. Rumsey and cautioned Murray to be frugal, industrious, and careful. They had received from Mr. Franks only £640 (sent by Rumsey) on all the goods they had sent up and begged him for a small remittance.[53]

The firm of "David Franks and Company" did not confine its operations to Fort de Chartres, but on August 8, 1771, purchased three lots, a stone house, and a mill for £300 *Penn.,* ($850) in Kaskaskia. The indenture was made in the name of Moses and Jacob Franks of Philadelphia, James Rumsey, and William Murray of Illinois.[54] Murray and Rumsey made frequent business trips east as the letters forwarded took so long to reach their destination that there were continual misunderstandings. On one return trip a blacksmith and a distiller, accompanied Rumsey in order to enlarge further the firm's undertakings.

Besides his partnerships, Murray had his own personal affairs. He still maintained a correspondence (mostly of a business nature) with Messrs. Callender, Thompson, Roker, Murphey, Simon, and Burke of Pennsylvania. With some of these he was debtor, as with Callender and Thompson, and with other a creditor as with Mr. Cameron. In such relations, the Gratz acted for him in the East. During 1772, Murray officiated as the executor of the estate of Capt. James Campbell, a former member of Wilkins' Court. In this capacity, he sold the estate at auction, paid the laborers who had worked on it, and compensated "Franks and Company" for supplies furnished the slaves."[55]

Although the Gratz and David Franks were very much concerned in these trading ventures, yet that was not their all-absorbing interest. Ever since Samuel Wharton had sailed to London on behalf of the Indiana Grant, these prominent easterners had watched his progress with breathless interest. Wharton had received a private opinion from Lord Camden and Lord Chancellor Yorke in 1769 to the effect that titles to land purchased directly from the Indian tribes by individuals or groups of individuals would be upheld in the British courts.[56] In spite of Wharton's attempts to keep this opinion secret, it leaked out about 1772. The knowledge of it most likely led to the decision of

"Franks and Company" in 1773, to discontinue their trading operations and take advantage of this opinion by entering into land speculations of their own.[57] On April 3, consequently, Murray was appointed their attorney with full power to settle and close up the business of this company whose partnership was soon to expire.[58]

In this settlement we gain some idea of the way in which they had conducted this business and its magnitude. From October 19, 1770, to April 24, 1773, the Gratz furnished "Franks and Company" with £1,953:10 4¾ ($9,600) worth of merchandise. On July 1, 1773, they had a balance of £1,560:0:11 ($8,392) with this concern.[59] They profited as wholesalers on the goods which they sent and besides, shared in the profits after the goods were retailed. It is probable that David Franks did likewise. We have record of one shipment alone by him amounting to £724:10:10 ($3,520). Murray and Rumsey in addition to the profits on the final sale of the goods, must have received remuneration for their services. Murray continued to be in account with "Levy and Franks" on November 20, 1772, they credited him with £14,641:6:10¼ ($71,157) because of disbursements he made at the Illinois between June 25, 1770, and September 10, 1772.[60] We see by the last statement that Joseph Simon, member of "Levy and Franks" was also concerned in Murray's affairs. Rumsey made his final settlement in September, with "Franks and Company" through William Murray. His account consisted of 10,634 *livres* (French money) most of which was to be paid in flour and other provisions for the garrison.[61]

We can see that the trading operations were often closely associated with the provisioning of the troops. Before following these merchants in their land speculations let us take a brief survey of the history of the provision branch. From Kaskaskia on July 11, 1768, Morgan had written of a contract made by Mr. Moses Franks and two other London gentlemen for provisioning the troops there at 13½ *Sterling* per ration or twenty-seven cents per person per day. Moses Franks, Mr. Nesbitt, and Sir Robert Colebrook had for several years supplied the British armies in America with food.[62] It was William Murray who acted as deputy for David Franks at Fort de Chartres where he was to personally supervise the fulfillment of the contract mentioned by Morgan. The failure to receive this contract was a great disappointment to Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan.[63] So apprehensive was Morgan of its detriment to their interests, that he urged the senior members of his firm to arrange with Mr. Franks to supply William Murray with the rations at 13½ pence *Pennsylvania*, or *New York* currency.[64] In this way their firm could profit from the sale of provisions while the London company could profit by the difference of exchange.

Morgan did achieve his end in this branch, for within a few weeks after Murray reached Fort de Chartres, he procured his order for 35,000 pounds of meat to be delivered by February for the garrison at Fort de Chartres.[65] Morgan charged Murray higher rates for these provisions, except the pork than had been formerly charged, by agreeing to deliver the provisions in the English weight which was 12 per cent. to 9 per cent. higher than the French weight. He was also to be allowed one-half bushel of salt for preserving the meat, for every barrel of beef of

220 pounds. Thus, although competitors, Murray and Morgan found themselves dependent upon each other.

Murray in turn received vouchers from the government through Mr. Reed, commissary at Fort Pitt.[66] It appears that in 1769, a Mr. Ross was manager of the contractors at Fort Pitt. In this capacity he was in the habit of supplying the contractors, of whom Murray was one, with provisions from the East. We might well infer that the Franks by this time preferred to fulfill their own contracts rather than to purchase the provisions from Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. Murray, however, embarrassed Ross by not sending him an account of what he needed; and so Ross knew not how to supply him. Reed, perturbed by Murray's actions wrote Wilkins that Murray might deem it below him to send the account, adding: "Trade which makes the contractor's people rich often make them above their business."[67] Murray may have sent his order directly to Mr. Franks or to the Commissary General.

The provisioning of the garrison never seemed to have been satisfactory to the military officials. Murray and Wilkins in the late spring of 1770 had a dispute about the provisions. Wilkins wrote Rumsey: "I must beg that there be an end to this dispute and that the troops are regularly served as I have ordered, and which is the only manner they can be fed at present vizt as at New York or Philadelphia or other places where cattle is to be got when demanded. I cannot see in what manner Mr. Murray proposes to make a deposit of fresh meat otherwise than I have directed weekly, shall desire Lieutenant De Berniem to consult him on that head. Am not surprised at Mr. Murray's insinuation with respect to the credit he has given me for deposits made in my name but must declare that I have never asked any price but left the matter to him and yourself at any rate I cannot boast of my farming scheme but am happy to find all articles so much reduced since I took the same in hand I have myself much to do at present, therefore must beg that if Mr. Murray and yourself have more to say in the present dispute (wherein I have nothing in view but justice to the public and contractors) that you will make me a visit so as to put an end to the affair, and if Mr. Murray imagines he hath given me a partial credit—he pleased to apologize for my not remitting to him at present."[68] But Wilkins was soon again on terms of friendship with Rumsey and Murray. He wrote Rumsey, on October 25, that he hoped the excesses which he had suffered at Fort de Chartres would cease at Kaskaskia, and sent his regards to Mr. Murray.———.[69]

Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins was discharged from the service in September, 1771, on the charge of falsifying accounts and taking large sums to himself.[70] He was succeeded by Maj. Isaac Hamilton who after abandoning and destroying Fort de Chartres left fifty soldiers at Fort Gage, near Kaskaskia, under Capt. Hugh Lord.[71]

Gage ordered Capt. Hugh Lord to inquire into frauds suspected of the contractor's agent—Mr. Murray. Captain Lord informed Gage that in September, 1772, Colonel Wilkins had made a requisition for a deposit of provisions, but that the buffalo beef had to be condemned. He stated further that Murray, who was at that time acting for the contractors and most of his employees were away; and so he was prevented from giving the requested information.[72] After the abandonment of

Fort de Chartres in September, and the withdrawal of most of the troops, we have scarcely a mention of the provisioning of the troops except, when Murray wrote the Gratz in 1773 from Pittsburg that if Croghan's information be correct "that the administration (intended) to send a battalion to the Illinois country, as they had at last found it to be the master key to Canada they would not fail doing something worthy."[73]

CHAPTER III.

William Murray, Land Speculator in Illinois.

It was during Murray's brief sojourn with Croghan mentioned in the previous chapter, that Murray was assured by that latter that Lords Camden and York had personally confirmed to him their opinion concerning Indian titles, when he was last in England. Murray quite elated over this confession transmitted it to the Gratz adding, "So courage, my boys. I hope we shall yet be satisfied for past vexations attending our concern at the Illinois." A traveler whether by land or canoe or barge was almost always the deliverer of some letters or goods at his destination. Murray brought three horses here to Mr. Mahon. Light-hearted and jestingly he wrote, "By two of them (horses) he sold in a few minutes after he gained possession, he gained eleven pounds. You see, Michael, that a Scotch-Irishman can get the better in a bargain with a Jew. I cannot have it in my power to transgress the Mosaic law by eating swine's flesh here. Not an ounce of it can be had in this beggarly place——."[74]

Murray did not tarry long in the East but returned soon to Illinois in order to make the land purchase, which he and his partners had planned during his stay, as quickly as possible. Murray continued his journey down the Ohio with brighter prospects than those which had attended his former returns. Already twenty-two stockholders had signed the proposed new land affair, including Thomas Marshall of York County, Capt. John Campbell, Robert Callender, and William Thompson of Cumberland County. All of these men were Pennsylvanians.[75] Thus as early as May, fairly definite plans for the Illinois company had been formulated. Murray upon arriving at Kaskaskia on June 11, made known the opinion of the British lawyers to Captain Lord. But the latter, far from acquiescing and allowing himself to encourage such schemes, replied that: "he should not suffer him to settle any of the lands as it was expressly contrary to his Majesty's orders"—referring of course to the provisions of the Proclamation of 1763.[76] But Murray's spirit was not one to be daunted by pessimistic denunciations of one of his Majesty's less important servants. During the month of June, Murray held several public conferences at Kaskaskia with the Illinois tribes, to which the British officers and the residents of the village were invited. Such an open meeting together with his orders against giving the Indians liquor, he thought, would show he had no intentions of trickery. He allowed nearly a month for their transactions, in order that the chiefs and sachems would have plenty of time for deliberation and consultation with the tribes which they represented.[77]

The bronzed Indians with their blankets wound about them—some standing in majestic dignity, others lounging about smoking their long

pipes; the red coated soldiers; the buckskin clad Frenchman—all gazing upon the purchase price consisting of piles of bright red blankets, shirts, stockings, shining brass kettles, steel knives, sacks of flour; and even cattle and horses—must have formed a peculiarly striking and impressive setting for the signing of the agreement perfected on July 5 at Kaskaskia. By this contract, William Murray purchased for himself and his colleagues two tracts of land east of the Mississippi River—one between the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers just below Kaskaskia, and the other from the mouth of the Missouri north to that of the Illinois, and thence along the latter's course. But even more impressive was the ceremony itself—the translation and explanation into French of the complicated and formal deed, by Richard Winston to Michael Dane and Piero Bloit, Indian interpreters, who in turn repeated the lengthy explanation, in the most ceremonial manner, to the Indians.[78] The Indian chieftains before the entire assemblage assented to this transference and, one by one, set their characteristic seals, in the form of bear's heads, fish, or a cross, if baptized, upon the parchment. The cost of this purchase was later stated to have been $37,326.17.[79]

The interpreters were duly sworn before the commandant of the Illinois, Capt. Hugh Lord, who certified this act on July 20, 1772. In all, it took about fifteen days to complete the transaction. On examining the list of the twenty-two grantees we find that all except Moses and Jacob Franks of London, William Murray of Illinois, and James Rumsey, late of Illinois, were Pennsylvanians. Most of them had had business dealings with the Franks Company (all of whom were grantees). We notice the familiar names of David Sproat, Milligan, and John Inglis of Philadelphia; Joseph Simon and Andrew Levi of Lancaster; Thomas Menshall of York County; Robert Callender of Cumberland County; and John Campbell of Pittsburg who with the Gratz formed Croghan's closest associates. All of these men had been connected with trading with Illinois and being naturally speculative, it is not surprising to find them venturing together in a quicker realization of profits. We have seen that Murray had not tried to get the consent of the British Council before making this purchase but had worked on the assumption that the Indian tribes were sovereign nations who could grant lands and that, although the British Crown was the possessor of this territory, it did not personally own the soils since it had never purchased or leased the land itself.

This deviation of policy to buy lands without government sanction —which seemed a defiance to British control and even in direct opposition to the Proclamation of 1763, caused an almost continuous exchange of letters between the British authorities. In a letter written September 30 to Haldimand, Superintendent Johnson condemned such purchases in these words: "I think Mr. Murray's proceedings very extraordinary. The spirit of purchasing and pushing settlements into the back country, remote from the influence of government and where they do as they please, is already so prevalent that unless his Majesty shall fall on some vigorous measure to prevent it, I despair of its ever being done.[80] From this letter we see Johnson feared such purchases would cause no small administrative problem. Haldimand replied to Johnson that he was glad to hear that the latter's opinion concerning these purchases corres-

ponded with his own, in their representation to the Secretary of State, [Dartmouth].[81] Haldimand sent his objections to Dartmouth in November. Although no actual settlements had been made, still he feared that settlements which were rumored to be made in the spring by emigrants from the East, would irritate the Indians and make the region one of lawlessness.[82]

The grantees, realizing the opposition of the crown to their purchase, when they could receive no aid from their own state, Pennsylvania, cleverly seized upon the plan of obtaining the sanction of Virginia, which by her charter claimed the whole Northwest.[83] Accordingly Murray went East, and on April 19, 1774, presented a petition on behalf of the Illinois Land Company to the Earl of Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, asking that: "Virginia extend her laws and jurisdictions over their purchase since it was within her limits.[84] Their reasoning follows logically: That they wished for well regulated commerce and to avoid the evil consequences which come with irregular and lawless emigrants, that such regulated settlements would form a frontier for the present frontier of Virginia as well as for the other states, and that they would comply with any rules, such as quit rents, which Virginia should choose to impose.

Murray knew the way to a true speculator's heart, such as Governor Dunmore's of Virginia, and most likely promised him due compensation for his support. Dunmore strongly urged Dartmouth to act favorably on this petition of April, a copy of which he sent him in May,[85] and spoke highly of the names attached to the petition.[86] The three men were known to him, especially, Mr. Murray, of whom he said, "[He] has been long a merchant in the Illinois country, knowing well the country which they were about settling and thoroughly understands the advantages that may be derived from their settlement there, to trade which is the principle of their undertaking and therefore cannot be prejudicial in any sense to His Majesty." Dartmouth, who did not react favorably to his proposal, wrote Johnson that Dunmore's reasons had not weight with him.[87]

Meanwhile Murray was busy planning his "compensation" for Dunmore. As early as May 16, 1774, he spoke of the "old and new affair" about which he had had letters sent to the Franks Brothers of London. His activity shows him to be the prime instigator. Plans were well under way as he wrote the Gratz on that day: "Further exploring has been determined upon at last meeting; some settlement to be made by way of taking possession, and all former transactions fully approved by those who were not formerly concerned, as well as on the part of the new hands."[88] Eight Marylanders had already signed the new affair.

Murray's hopes once again seemed high and gave rise to such exclamations as "My rib presents her compliments to you"—and his little joke at the expense of Michael Gratz of whom he writes: "Now as the Devil will have it, you must be informed forsooth, that Moses was upon the top of a mount in the month of May—consequently his followers must for a certain number of days cease to provide for their families, though perhaps he may be promoted to such high rank above that he may think it beneath his dignity to associate with his countrymen."

The border warfare on the Ohio in 1774, increased in gruesomeness. Murray wrote the Gratz from Philadelphia that verbal reports of the murder of thirty-eight or forty-eight Indians by white people had reached them. "If this intelligence be true," he anxiously wrote, "it would mean much against us and greatly endanger my scalp. I hourly hope to hear that the report is void of truth."[89] These rumblings bespoke of the Dunmore War which soon broke out. This war involved Virginia and Pennsylvania and made the western Indians restless and Illinois the scene of frequent raids.[90] Murray was still in Philadelphia in June and Michael Gratz hoped he would not leave until he learned the reports of the raids along the Ohio were groundless and advised that he return via New Orleans.

Meanwhile the British ministry had not viewed Murray's purchase as favorably as had Lord Dunmore. General Gage then in England urged the ministry very strongly against validifying the grant. As early as May, the Secretary's opposition was known to the speculators through a letter written by Samuel Wharton to his brother stating that: "Lord Dartmouth had sent orders to Lord Dunmore not to grant a foot of lands to any person on the Ohio and for him to make null and void the patents he has already granted.[91]

Gage wrote to Capt. Hugh Lord commending his opposition to these land purchases which greatly pleased Lord Dartmouth. He then related the following commands: "you will therefore take all opportunities to acquaint the Indians with this, His Majesty's concern for their happiness and welfare, in preventing persons taking advantage of them and purchasing the lands which it is the King's determined resolution to reserve to them, and to prevent as much as lays in your power any purchase so contrary to the royal will and regulations * * * and that his Majesty's new subjects may not be deceived and persuaded to act contrary to the intent of it [i. e. the Proclamation] you will be pleased to order the Notary Public to erase from his Registers any of the proceedings relative to the purchase already made and publicly to protest against them, and to declare all that has been or may be done hereafter relative to it void and of non-effect.[92]

It was these unlawful purchases which caused the British ministry in the Quebec Act of June, 1774, to include Illinois in the province of Quebec.[93] By so doing they hoped to discourage settlements in Illinois, since the residents could not enjoy English law; and thus fur trading would be encouraged. An annulment of Murray's deed was attempted. "Eighteen months subsequent [about January, 1775] to this transaction [July, 1773 purchase]" stated Murray, "General Gage ordered—[Captain Lord] to convene the Indian chiefs afresh after I purchased the lands, and to inform them; 'That notwithstanding the sale they had made, and the consideration that they might hold these lands and that they were still their property." After some deliberation, the chiefs replied: 'That they thought what the Great Captain said was not right; that they had sold the lands to me and my friends not for a short time, but, as long as the sun rose and set; That I had paid them what they had agreed for and to their satisfaction and more than they had asked for—and they would protect us against our enemies and we do the same for them when we settled.' "[94] Murray, was content with the Indian

reply and ignored the rebuke from the crown. In September he commenced a series of negotiations similar to those of 1773, at Post St. Vincent and Ouiatenon with the different tribes of the Piankashaw and Wea.

He was not acting merely on the Camden opinion, for he wrote: "Previous to my commencing to negotiate either purchase, I had records examined [kept since early days by the French.] to see what lands were ceded by—the Indians for garrisons or use of the inhabitants and by what titles the latter held them."[95] If the Crown could stop his purchase could they not nullify the French claims? And what an uproar such reasoning would cause among the French. By consulting the oldest Indians and the earliest French settlers, he learned that their land holding "originated from cessions obtained for a valuable consideration from Indians," stated that his purchases were made from the same Indians.[96] These Indians he claimed were sovereign and not tributary to the Six Nations or any other Nation.

Was the idea that Frenchmen who once bought land from the Indians could do so again, the reason for having his French partner, Louis Viviat, act as the purchaser of the Wabash lands?[97] Did he reason that the English Crown would not dare oppose such a prominent Frenchman as Louis Viviat who was merely reiterating the acts of other French settlers—on a larger scale of course? By using him, Murray could of course gain the good will of the French. In any case, Louis Viviat, prominent French merchant and former judge at Kaskaskia, held public conferences, similar in nature to those held in 1773, at Post Vincent and Vermillion. There he obtained from their chiefs on October 18, two large tracts of land, one above and one below Vincennes. Merchandise similar in character to that used for the first purchase but valued at $42,477.73 ($5,000 in excess of the former purchase) was paid for this land.[98] The Earl of Dunmore's name stands prominently among the grantees, in fact his name is the first of the eighteen on the list and is followed by that of his son, John Murray, Maryland had a fair representation and we note that William Murray's brother, Daniel, is now engaged with him. This deed was duly registered on December 5, 1775. In the deed again appears the names of our old friends Moses and Jacob Franks, who with Murray and David Franks are the only grantees of 177s. The names of Rumsey, Gratz, Campbell, Simon are conspicuous by their absence. With the American Revolution, their most prominent sponser with the ministry, Lord Dunmore, was dropped from their journals.

Events were moving with lightning rapidity in America during the fall of 1775 and the year 1776—hopes of the removal of grievances began to engender thoughts in bolder minds of independence; parties were beginning to form; and the conservatives, neither Tory nor Pro-Independent, began to be forced to cast their lot in with one of the two sides. William Murray must have watched these events with some apprehensions and yet with some hopes—war certainly would delay the settlement of these newly acquired lands, but now that Britain had shown her absolute disapproval of his undertakings by direct criticisms and by the inclusion of Illinois in the Quebec Province, would he not have a better chance by casting his fortunes in with the Revolutionists. Besides his

Scotch blood probably seized the opportunity to side in with the Colonies against England.

In the early summer of 1776, Murray left Illinois for the East, in order to exert more direct influence for his grants. Before leaving Kaskaskia, he instructed his brother Daniel, whom he left in charge of his western affairs, to give every assistance to any American troops that might arrive there. These instructions he repeated through Col. George Gibson who came from New Orleans to Illinois.[100]

Faithful to his brother's commands, Daniel Murray proferred valuable aid to George Rogers Clark upon his entry into Kaskaskia on July 4, 1778. It is even suggested that the loyal Daniel opened the door of the fort to him.[101] By the morning of the fifth he and Winston had plenty of provisions for the fatigued and hungry troops, whose gratitude to such friends of the American cause must have been very great.[102]

Daniel Murray continued his assistance and supplied Clark with large quantities of flour, beef, pork, salt, tallow, liquor, and merchandise. For these commodities, he accepted continental money at gold valuation without stopping to consider depreciation, and he later claimed to have induced the French to do likewise.[103] Not only did Daniel Murray act as voluntary provisioner of the troops, but he also acted as commissary and quartermaster, and served in military operations under Clark. His assistance to the Virginians proved very detrimental to his interests and those of his brother. In a memorial on December 29, 1781, to the Virginia Delegates in Congress, he prayed them to save himself and his brother from ruin by the payment of two bills for $6,484⅔ and $1,590, which were drawn by Colonel Montgomery.[104]

Although it is not within our scope to pursue Murray's activities outside of Illinois in any detail, yet the following account seems necessary. Clark's undertakings were not unknown in the East. After a long interval of no meetings, the Illinois and Wabash Land Companies held a joint session in Philadelphia on November 3, 1778, thirteen days before the news of Clark's achievement reached Williamsburg. Could not their western sympathizers such as Daniel Murray have sent them news of Clark's success? At this meeting, the companies determined to unite, to rectify the indefinite boundary lines of the Illinois River tract of the 1773 purchase, to cede sufficient land to pay the soldiers enlisted in the American cause, and to present a memorial to the Virginia Legislature. William Murray was appointed as executor of many of their proposed plans—to supervise the correction of the northern boundary (for which £600 to be increased to £1,000 if necessary was approximated) and to present their memorial to Virginia. Seeing that it was Virginia who actually occupied the Illinois country, the proprietors were anxious to make their claims formally known. On December 26, 1778, William Murray presented this memorial to the Legislature at Williamsburg. After stating briefly that they had purchased lands on the Wabash River, the Illinois and Wabash Companies tactfully added that when conditions allowed for the settlement of these lands they had no intention to dispute the jurisdiction of Virginia or any other state rightfully claiming jurisdiction over them.[105]

In 1779, frequent meetings of the companies were held.[106] George Ross, signer of the Declaration and now chairman of these companies

sent Capt. John Campbell, their surveyor-general, instructions for the founding of a town at the junction of the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, and the terms of settlement proposed. They informed him that Murray was their agent in this affair.

In spite of Virginia's reiteration on May 18 that no persons could purchase any land within her limits, the companies went hopefully ahead in completing their organization and plans. In August, they divided their lands into eighty-four shares, two of which were soon after sold to Mr. Robert Morris, renowned financier of the Revolution, and Mr. John Holder, Counsel of France, for £8,000 each. With the names of these prominent members added to those of Gerard, the French minister who had a large following in Congress, and Governor Thomas Johnson of Maryland, in addition to the ten members from Maryland, we are not surprised at Maryland's opposition to Virginia's obtaining permanent sovereignty in the West. On April 29, 1780, a definite constitution was drawn up; a resolution was passed ordering that £4,000 (from the sale of the shares to Messrs. Holder and Morris) be paid to Murray, for defraying the necessary expenses of the Companies; and detailed provisions were made for settlements at the mouth of the Ohio and Illinois Rivers as well as at the mouth of the Wabash. They decided to postpone the actual settlement of these sites until peace was declared.[107] The various events leading to Maryland's ratification of the Articles of Confederation on February 2, 1781, showed plainly that the Companies could now hope for little success by working through Maryland alone. Knowing Maryland's intention of ratification they presented a memorial to Congress on February 3, 1781, which found no favor.[108] The members of the United-Illinois-Wabash Companies refused to cast entirely aside their visions of golden prosperity, and we accordingly find them petitioning the Continental Congress in 1788,[109] the United States Congress in 1791, 1797, and 1804.[110] The petition of 1791 had been presented by James Wilson, the eminent Pennsylvanian, and his friends. The House acted favorably on it but a deadlock in the Senate prevented any action.[111] No better fortune favored that of 1797. The whole matter was finally repudiated on January 30, 1811.[112]

During this period of the futile attempts of the Illinois-Wabash-Land Companies to gain official sanction to its purchases, we have but a fleeting glimpse of William Murray. The affairs of these United Companies had become his chief interest. Besides, the Revolutionary War had greatly curtailed western trading, not only by making western expeditions hazardous, but also by discouraging the Indians from trapping. Shortly after the March meeting of 1779 of the land companies, the Gratz Brothers intended to make a final settlement with Murray. Michael cautioned his brother to take care when he settled with him to get "hard" money instead of the depreciated paper.[113] Murray may have gone West in the interest of their companies for Daniel Murray wrote Bentley that he expected him.[114] We hear nothing of him in the years following, until 1786, when he is the bearer of a letter from Barnard Gratz then in Richmond, Virginia, whither his business interests had moved, to Michael.[115] He still maintained business relations with the Lancaster group. In June of that year, he deeded one-half of his 2,000 acre land tract, in Jefferson County, Virginia, to Joseph Simon.[116] This

land adjoined the military survey of Col. John Campbell which lay within the present site of Louisville, Kentucky.

His holdings in Kentucky and the subsequent failure of the Illinois-Wabash Companies to maintain their title, cause us to wonder if he was not the William Murray who appeared so prominently in Kentucky's history as the opposer of the Kentucky Resolutions, in 1798. Since the interests of the Gratz were turned in that direction he may have followed in their path. If he is this William Murray, he emigrated to Natchez, Mississippi, in 1803, and died there in 1805.[117] But the proof of this case is still wanting. Thus we see the finale as well as the beginning of the life of this dramatic personage remains still to be ascertained. In my discourse I have attempted to trace his activities in Illinois alone; and so I must leave the solution of this problem to later researchers or to others, ambitious of throwing light upon some of the truly eminent pioneers who gave their most previous years to laying a cornerstone for our State of Illinois.

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[1] On March 18, 1768, the Ministry definitely accepted the principle of allowing the colonial government to manage the trade of the West, the proposition of establishing a tentative boundary line, and the retention of the offices of Indian superintendents. Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* vol. ii, 31.

[2] For a thorough discussion of these policies see Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* passim.

[3] It was chiefly due to the influence and efforts of George Croghan that peace was made with Pontiac in July. Learning of Pontiac's promise that the English troops would not be hindered in their passage to Illinois, Captain Sterling left Fort Pitt on August 24, and arrived at Fort de Chartres on October 9. *Great Britain and the Illinois Country,* 38-45.

[4] Carter, Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 83-84.

[5] October 4, 1766, in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime,* 397.

[6] Joseph Simon, one of the wealthiest Indian traders in Pennsylvania, came to Lancaster about 1740. Byars, (?) B. and M. Gratz, 3.

[7] For a detailed discussion of this cession, see Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* vol. ii, chap. iii.

[8] In 1763 Colonel Bouquet commanded at Philadelphia when the new rising of the Indians was instigated by Pontiac, he marched to the relief of Fort Pitt. On August 5, he defeated the Indians in a long and stubborn contest at Bushy Run. Four days later he reached Fort Pitt. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. xvi, 151. See also Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac,* vol. ii, 67, 76, 370, 408.

[9] Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to Johnson, December 28, 1766, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime,* 466.

[10] Clarkson's Diary, August 6, 1766—April 16, 1767, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime,* 349.

[11] Gage wrote to Shelburne about the disposal of the troops of the forty-second regiment on August 24, 1767. Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime* 591-593.

[12] September 1, 1769, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 102.

[13] Mr. Byars' explanation of this allusion is as follows: "If he is the Captain Murray of the Royal Highlanders ordered to Lancaster after the Conestoga Massacre, and stationed at Fort Pitt,—he certainly would have spent some time in New York on landing there with the troops, and his acquaintance with Miss Franks might have begun then." Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 103. Miss Richi Franks, daughter of Jacob Franks, sailed for London not long after her father's death in 1768, probably in order to consult her brothers, Moses and Napthali, then in London, about the management of her father's estate. *American Jewish Historical Society Publications,* vol. xxii, 139.

[14] Michael Gratz to William Murray, September 1, 1769, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 102-103.

[15] September 15, 1768, *Pennsylvania Historical Society,* Etting Collection.

[16] In his very first letter to the Gratz from Carlisle, Murray asked that they would please not "forget the Little ones down the River," and wished that they might be bound out to some honest tradesman in town or country." June 8, 1768, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 84. He repeated these requests, speaking of them as "the two poor Little Chance Boys." *Ibid.,* June 8, 1768, Idem., 95. The Gratz in turn wrote of visiting "Your Little Ones down the River" and of "clothing them and paying their board." April 4, 1770, *Idem.* 109.

In the Record of Apprentices of Philadelphia we find that on March 13, 1773, Barnard Gratz had apprenticed William Murray with consent of his father, to Alexander Hamilton of Philadelphia. Pennsylvania *Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. xxiv, 121. Murray must have had another son, for Mary Robertson wrote him from Scotland in 1775 concerning the education of his son, Willie, then in Scotland. This son can hardly have been the one spoken of above. Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 353.

[17] William Murray to Barnard Gratz, June 8, 1768; Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 88.

[18] Gage to Hillsborough, August 17, 1768, in Public Record Office, *Colonial Office Papers*, vol. v, folio, 291. Major Wilkins, commanding at Niagara was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eighteenth Regiment, Royal Irish in June, 1764. *Historical Magazine*, vol. viii, 258.

[19] "The silver ware," wrote George Morgan to his partners, "is a good parcel, but the principal articles thereof and many of the small ones are charged from 20 to 50 per cent too high." October 30, 1768, *Pennsylvania Division of Public Records*.

[20] See *Ibid.*

[21] Michael Gratz to William Murray, July 8, 1768, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 87.

[22] William Murray to Barnard Gratz, June 8, 1768, *Idem.*, 84. For this goods purchased from Sproat and Company Murray gave his bond payable in December, 1768 (next). Morgan to Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, October 30, 1768, *Pennsylvania Division of Public Records*.

[23] Indeed so plentiful was the game that Ensign George Butricke asserts each company was commonly served with one buffalo a day besides quantities of deer, geese, turkeys, ducks, turtles and the extremely large catfish. Butricke to Captain Barnsley, September 15, 1768, *Historical Magazine*, vol. viii, 259. For a biographical note of Barnsley, see *Idem.* 258.

[24] "The falls appear tremendous at first sight," wrote Butricke, "and startled our people." It was only after he had gone safely over them that the rest followed. *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*, 260.

[26] "Fort Chartres," Butricke added, "is a midling sized Fort—the walls about 2 foot thick and 20 foot high—with Loop holes to fire small arms thro'—[and]—some port holes for great guns. But they seldom use them for they shock the works too much, the barracks are very good built of stone, but they will not contain more than 200 exclusive of officers." Fort Chartres was built in 1720, at a distance of a mile from the Mississippi. It was repaired in 1750. By 1768, owing to a new channel formed by the river, was not over eighty yards from the water. After the surrender of the West to the British, St. Ange de Bellerive, an old and experienced French officer, held it through the period of Pontiac's conspiracy. On October 10, 1765, Captain Stirling took charge of it for Great Britain. *History Magazine*, vol. viii, 257.

[27] Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, July 20, 1768, *Morgan Letter Book*.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Morgan to Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, October 30, 1768. *Division of Public Records*, Pennsylvania State Library. This remark seems ironical in view of the fact that it was later Murray who purchased the merchandise of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. Poste., 24.

[30] Mrs. Murray and her children left Philadelphia on July 8, and arrived at the mouth of the Kaskaskia in November. *Ibid.* November 7. Later Murray sent Franky East—probably to be educated. In 1771, the Gratz wrote that they had seen him and that he was growing into a fine fellow. Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 119. In the account books of "Levy and Franks," Murray is charged with £104:18:6½ for payments made (March 30, 1771—April 2, 1773) to James Cannon for Franky's maintenance. *Pennsylvania Historical Society, Etting Collection.*

[31] William Murray to B. and M. Gratz, April 24, 1769, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 93.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] James Rumsey to Barnard and Michael Gratz, January 26, 1771, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 115.

[34] Messrs. B. and M. Gratz, account current with Franks and Company, 1770-1774. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Etting Collection.*

[35] During the Revolution David Sproat was Commissary of the Naval Prisoners. The mortality of the prisoners under his care at New York was very great. He was attainted of treason in Philadelphia and his estate was forfeited.

[36] Michael Gratz wrote Murray that he hoped Barnard who was in London would bring home an assortment of goods suitable for Illinois, Michael Gratz to William Murray, April 9, 1770, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 109.

[37] B. and M. Gratz to Messrs. William Murray and James Rumsey, May 24, 1772, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 123-124.

[38] Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country* 1763-74, 73-74.

[39] Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 93.

[40] Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, August 21, 1769, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 100. "The Seneca Indians," wrote Michael Gratz to his brother then in England, "are much discontented on account of the purchase money that was given at the last treaty [referring to Fort Stanwix] to the Nether Indians, and their share not yet received by them, which makes them very insolent and daring, though it is thought they want nothing but presents and rob, if they can in the meantime. So I am in no ways sorry that we did not send any more, as I am much afraid of what we have there already, if an Indian war should happen."

[41] *Ibid.* September 1, 1769, 102.

[42] *Idem*, 104.

[43] William Murray to B. and M. Gratz, September 22, 1769. *Ibid.*

[44] B. and M. Gratz to William Murray, April 4, 1770. *Idem*, 109.

[45] Michael Gratz to William Murray, December 28, 1769, *Idem*, 108. On October 25, 1765, "the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia," including David Franks and the Gratz, adopted the "Non-Importation Resolutions" in which they agreed not to have any goods shipped from Great Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, 22. It still was in force in

1770, although the Stamp Act had been repealed. In that year Michael Gratz proposed to Barnard, who was still in London, that they would ship their goods to Illinois by the way of Baltimore, Maryland, for canvass goods, linens, cloth from 4 to 6 shillings per yard, blankets and rugs could be imported there. Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 112.

[46] William Murray's Account Current with B. and M. Gratz, 1773-1774. This account further states "as per Sales in Franks and Company Books."

[47] Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 98. Lieutenant Rumsey accompanied Lieutenant Stirling to Illinois in 1765. He was soon after appointed royal commissary at Fort de Chartres. He became prominent in Illinois, serving in the court, established by Wilkins in December of 1768. He associated himself early with Morgan. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country,* 50, 68, 69.

[48] Pennsylvania Historical Society, *Etting Collection,* Miscellaneous manuscripts, vol. i, 133.

[49] James Rumsey to B. and M. Gratz, January 26, 1771, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 116.

[50] Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country,* 71. Wilkins had formerly been very friendly with Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, and had made them grants of lands, in which he, himself, was interested. Gabriel Cerré's Testimony Concerning Illinois, July, 1786, Alvord, Kaskaskia Records, 384.

[51] The cost of this purchase was £9,955:14:4, excluding £1,000 of goods charged to the firm but rejected by Rumsey. Pennsylvania Historical Society, *Supreme Court Records,* April Term, 1773. In May, 1774, Thomas Wharton wrote his brother that David Franks had not yet paid this bill although he had obtained judgment for it "12 months" since. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. xxiii, 333.

[52] Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 118.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *Draper Manuscripts,* 12 s 293.

[55] August 31, 1773, *Estate of Captain James Campbell,* in account with William Murray, Executor. Supreme Court Records, April Term, 1773. *Pennsylvania Historical Society.*

[56] Wharton to Johnson, June 14, 1769, in *Johnson Manuscripts,* vol. xvii, 190.

[57] The demolishment of Fort de Chartres in the fall of 1772, the reduction of the size of the garrison stationed in Illinois, and the talk of doing likewise to Fort Pitt must have greatly discouraged these men and made them even more eager for land speculation. See Hillsborough to Gage, December 4, 1771, in Public Records Office, *Colonial Office Papers,* 5:90, p. 5; and Gage to Hillsborough, September 2, 1772, in *Idem,* p. 113.

[58] *Kaskaskia Court Record,* 265.

[59] Pennsylvania Historical Society, *Etting Collection,* Gratz Papers.

[60] Pennsylvania Historical Society, *Etting Collection,* Miscellaneous Manuscripts, vol. i, 146.

[61] Recognition of Indebtedness to Franks and Company, by J. Rumsey, May 15, 1773, *Kaskaskia Manuscripts,* Court Record, folio 273.

[62] David and Moses Franks were sons of Jacob Franks of New York. During the French and Indian War, the armies in America were supplied with provisions by Messrs. Moses Franks, Nesbitt, and Colebrook. The latter two are probably the "other two men" referred to by Morgan. Contracts to the value of £76,400 were made for provisioning British Armies and Garrisons in North America, particularly in New York, Maryland, Fort Pitt, and the Illinois Country. Both Moses and David figure prominently in the correspondence of this firm (1759-1779) as its agents. David Franks managed their interests in Pennsylvania. *American Jewish Historical Publications,* vol. xi, 181-183.

[63] Baynton, Wharton and Morgan did however receive large contracts for supplying the Indian department with goods to be used as presents to the Indians. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country,* 83.

[64] July 11, 1768, *Morgan Letter Book.* £100 *Sterling* was equivalent to £170 *Pennsylvania.*

[65] Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, October 30. Morgan said he thought they could arrange matters so as to lay in 50,000 pounds. *Ibid.*

[66] Reed to McMillan, April 16, 1769, in *J. P. Branch, Historical Papers,* vol. iv, no. 2, 109-110. Reed is not to be confused with Lieutenant-Colonel John Reed, stationed at Fort de Chartres in 1766-1768.

[67] June 6, 1769, in J. P. Branch, *Historical Papers,* vol. iv. no. 2, p. 110.

[68] Illinois Historical Survey.

[69] Pennsylvania Historical Society, *Gratz Papers.* This statement shows that Murray was going to make Kaskaskia the center of his business and connects with the purchase of the lots "etc" made there in August. See *ante,* 25.

[70] Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country,* 155.

[71] Hillsborough sent Gage orders for its demolishment on December 4, 1771. Public Record Office, *Colonial Office Papers,* 5:90, p. 5. Its abandonment and demolishment was reported to Hillsborough by Gage on September 2, 1772. See *Idem,* p. 113.

[72] April 9, 1773, in British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts,* 21730 f. 27.

[73] May 15, 1773, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz,* 130.

[74] *Ibid.* This acknowledgment of his being Scotch makes us naturally think of him as possibly being the Captain Murray of Fort Pitt.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] Lord to Gage, July 3, 1773, *Johnson Manuscripts,* vol. xxv, no. 211.

[77] *Account of the Proceedings of the Illinois and Ouabache Land Companies.*

[78] *Ibid.* Richard Winston was an inhabitant of Kaskaskia.

[79] *Ibid.* This estimate covered the purchase price, the cost of the treaty, and the interest on the balance of the goods.

[80] In British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 21670, f. 82.
[81] October 20, 1773, in British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 21670, f. 91.
[82] November 3, 1773, in the British Museum, *Haldimand Papers:* Correspondence with Lord Dartmouth (1773-1775).
[83] Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, vol. ii, 203.
[84] Public Record Office, *Colonial Office Papers*, 5, 1352, p. 141.
[85] May 16, 1774, in *Idem.*
[86] David Franks, John Campbell, and Murray were the "names attached to the petition."
[87] July 6, 1774, *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. viii, 468.
[88] Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 140.
[89] *Idem*, 141.
[90] See Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, vol. ii, 188 ff.
[91] L. A. Levy to Michael Gratz, May 28, 1774, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 142.
[92] Haldimand to Lord, March 9, 1774, in British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts*, 21693, f. 355.
[93] Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2: 237 ff.
[94] *Account of the Proceeding of the Illinois and Ouabache Land Companies.*
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] *Ibid.*
[97] After his brother's departure from Illinois, Daniel Murray declared the partnership between William Murray and Louis Viviat dissolved, as "Viviat had acted in a manner unjust and illegal since the absence of his partner." April 13, 1777, *Kaskaskia Manuscripts*, folio 111. This estrangement may have been caused by their different political affiliations—Murray being pro-American and Viviat being pro-British.
[98] *Account of the Proceedings of the Illinois and Ouabache Land Companies.*
[99] *Account of the Proceedings of the Illinois and Ouabache Land Companies.*
[100] Captain George Gibson left Fort Pitt, July 19, 1775, and reached New Orleans in August. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 227, contains an account of Gibson's mission to New Orleans. Alvord states this letter must have reached Daniel Murray in 1777. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, Introduction, xx.
[101] Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, Introduction, xiii. Murray was a close friend of Thomas Bentley who was accused of aiding the Americans. For an account of their activities, see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, Introduction, xvi-xxv.
[102] Clark's Memoir, 1773-1779, in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 229.
[103] *Virginia State Papers*, vol. ii, 675, Clark must have been surprised to find the continental money passing at par. It is said that many merchants tried to buy up goods in Illinois on this basis. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, Introduction 1.
[104] *Virginia State Papers*, vol. ii, 675.
[105] *Virginia State Papers*, vol. i, 314.
[106] On March 13, August 20, and November 8. *Account of the Proceedings of the Illinois and Ouabache Land Companies.*
[107] *Account of the Proceedings of the Illinois and Ouabache Land Companies; American State Papers, Public Lands*, vol. ii, 109.
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] *Ibid.*
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] *Idem.*, vol. ii, 253.
[113] Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, April 13, 1779, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 180.
[114] Daniel Murray to Thomas Bentley, May 25, 1779, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, vol. xix, 417.
[115] Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, January 20, 1786, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 232.
[116] This deed is recorded in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Byars, *B. and M. Gratz*, 374.
[117] Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 277. William Murray representative from Franklin County, led the debate against these resolutions. Collins states that his contemporaries spoke of him in terms of admiration and he was probably the most eminent scholar in his day. *Ibid.* Shaler suggests that Murray's opposition was given "in order to balance his as yet unpublished relation" to the intrigue of the Spanish governor, Carondelet, in gaining the secession of Kentucky from the Union, Shaler, *Kentucky*, 141. For an extended treatment of this conspiracy, see, Green, *The Spanish Conspiracy.*

PART III

Contributions to State History

CAPTAIN JOHN BAPTISTE SAUCIER

At Fort Chartres in the Illinois,
1751-1763

By

JOHN F. SNYDER, M. D.

Ex-President of the Illinois State Historical Society

Reprinted with Some Additions, and Correction of Certain Errors in the First Edition

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PREFACE.

Every intelligent man should learn all he can of his ancestry, and transmit that knowledge to his descendents, in order that the traits and tendencies of the stock, if elevating, may be emulated; if degrading, may be corrected and improved.

This view prompted the writing of the biographical sketch, here presented, of Captain John Baptiste Saucier of the French Army, who assisted in designing the plans of the second Fort Chartres, in the Illinois, and superintended its construction.

Since the first edition of this little work was published, in 1901, diligent investigation of the Saucier family history has resulted in the discovery of new facts, and elimination of several errors in the original text. This revised edition is therefore believed to be substantially correct, and an inconsiderable, but reliable, contribution to the early history of Illinois.

Documentary evidences verifying many of the statements herein related, were lost nearly a century ago in the destruction by fire of his son's residence.

The known facts, and family legends, concerning Captain Saucier, have been collected, in this narrative form, by one of his descendents, to perpetuate the name and history of a brave soldier and honorable, upright citizen.

VIRGINIA, ILL. J. F. S.

CHAPTER I.

The Sauciers in France.

At the beginning of the Eighteenth Century Monsieur Jean Beaumont Saucier—or Saussier, as the family name was then spelled*—was a prominent and prosperous merchant in the quaint old city of Orleans, in France. He was descended from a line of merchant ancestors, who had transacted business at the same place, the eldest son succeeding his father, from time immemorial. He had been carefully trained in the mercantile art by his father, Beaumont Saucier, who had, on retiring from business, a few years before, transferred to him the real estate, goods, credits and good will of the old establishment.

Jean Beaumont Saucier was then, in 1700 about twenty-five years of age; was happily married, and in the enjoyment of life's chief blessings, in the venerable family home situated midway between the house of Joan D'Arc and the ancient city wall. His only brother, Felix Xavier Saucier, a few years his senior, had chosen the military profession, and was then an officier in the Royal Guards at Versailles.

In the passing of time, with its swiftly shifting scenes and ceaseless changes, two sons were born to Monsieur and Madame Jean Beaumont Saucier; the first receiving the name of Louis Beaumont Saucier, and the other that of Paul. The thrifty young merchant was then blessed with possession of all the choicest gifts of life—health, success in business, friends in abundance, and angelic wife and two promising children. The world seemed to him radiant with joy, and the future full of buoyant hope. But suddenly a deep shadow fell upon his bright and happy home; caused by one of those subtle strokes of Fate, or inexorable Law, so difficult to reconcile with generally accepted doctrines of Omniscient mercy and goodness. By an accidental fall, down a tortuous stairway in the rambling old mansion, the young wife and mother received injuries that caused her death in a few hours.

M. Saucier was almost distracted by the shock, and for a long time was broken down by the intensity of his grief. But time compassionately assuages the pangs of suffering it inflicts, and mitigates the acutest sorrow. The terrible blow fully tested the young merchant's power of mental endurance; but he survived it, finding solace in the care and education of his children, and preparing them for the great battle of life before them.

The elder of the two, Louis Beaumont, destined to succeed his father, and perpetuate the Saucier mercantile house, received, at Paris, as thorough business-training as was at that time practicable to obtain. Paul, who was gifted with his mother's gentle disposition, in course of time, was educated for the Church; and, after taking holy orders, was

* See Note A in the Appendix. The French descendents of this family retain the original spelling of the name—Saussier—pronounced So-se-a.

installed as coadjutor, or assistant priest, in the old Cathedral of his native city.

The time at length approached when M. Saucier, according to ancient family custom, would retire from the active management of his business, and relinquish it to his son, Louis. The thought of leaving the old homestead where he was born, hallowed by so many tender and endearing memories, cast a shadow of melancholy upon his mind, and induced a feeling of indescribable lonesomeness. He had purchased a little estate a few miles from Orleans, and fitted it up to suit his tastes, contemplating passing there the remainder of his days. This change of residence removed him but a few miles from the city; yet, it separated him for the greater part of time from his sons, and isolated him in the silence and solitude of the country, with servants as his only associates. This condition, contrasted with his former active life on the busy, noisy street, with genial, pleasant surroundings, seemed to him intolerable, and suggested—as is often the case with old widowers—the desirability of securing a sympathetic companion to share his elegant retirement.

While revolving the propriety of this momentous step in his mind an amusing incident occurred that dispelled any doubts or misgivings he may have entertained on the subject; and, like a stroke of magic, relieved him of all ennui and despondency. For years horseback riding had been his favorite exercise for the promotion of health, and relaxation from long hours of mental and physical business drudgery.

Mounted on his trusty horse, one fine evening in early summer, he cantered out beyond the limits of the old town, as was his custom, and turned his course into the great forest, preserved there for ages in its primitive wildness, to enjoy a view of nature in one of its grand and majestic forms. As he rode on he became so absorbed in the freshness and fragrance of the budding and blooming shrubs, and the wide-spreading leafy branches of the stately old trees, the chattering of squirrels and songs of birds, and, perhaps, in deep reveries of more tender kind, that he lost all note of time, direction and distance, and wandered on, along by-ways and obscure paths, until the light of day was fast disappearing. Great banks of black clouds now floated up from the south and overspread the sky; and, soon, intense darkness ushered in the approaching night.

He had often before ridden through the forest, and was familiar with the windings of its roads; but now, unable to see any object to guide his course, he realized the fact that he was lost. It was not, however, his first experience of that sort. He had before lost his way in the forest at night, when, trusting to the sagacity of his horse, the faithful animal had safely and speedily carried him out of the dungeon-like gloom back to his home. He now dropped the reins, and, holding fast to the pommel of his saddle, bowed his head and urged his horse forward. Cautiously and steadily his four-footed servant pursued his course, across ravines, up one hill and down to another, turning now to the right, then to the left, and again straight on through the dense blackness that surrounded them. In his dreamy meandering before sunset, M. Saucier must have penetrated far into the depths of the old woods; for an hour or more had passed since his horse had commenced its unguided effort to retrace his course. So long indeed, that his confidence in the animal's

instinct began to waver, and the horrid thought occurred to him that all this groping in the dark had been aimless, and that every step, perhaps, carried them farther into the interior of the vast wilderness. He began mentally to debate the advisability of stopping there, where he was, to await the return of day, when the rumbling of distant thunder, and flashes of blinding lightning, portending an advancing storm, strengthened his resolution to proceed yet a little farther. Just then the clatter of the horses' hoofs, and his accelerated gait, proved that he had reached a broad, well-beaten road. In a few minutes a glimmering light in the distance revived the despairing traveler's drooping spirits.

The light, when approached, was found to emanate from the window of a farm house. M. Saucier, though his horse manifested no disposition to slacken his brisk pace, concluded to stop and dispel his utter bewilderment by inquiring of the inmates of the house his exact whereabouts. Dismounting, he made out a gate that obstructed his course to the light. Securing his horse to the fence, he entered the premises and walked up a graveled way to the veranda, which now the interior light, and fitful lightning, disclosed from the impenetrable darkness. He had advanced to within a few steps of the house, when, to his utter amazement, a female figure came bounding from the door to meet him. She threw her arms around his neck, and kissing him fervently, exclaimed: "Oh, Papa! I am so glad you have come. You were so late getting home, I was fearful you had met with some accident."

Recovering from his surprise, and comprehending the young lady's mistake, he replied, "You are mistaken, Madame; I am not your father; but be not alarmed. I am Monsieur Saucier, a merchant on Rue Dupont, in Orleans; and having lost my way I stopped here on seeing the light in your window, to inquire where I am, and by what road I may the most speedily get back to my home." The young lady was obviously much confused; but regaining her composure, invited her accidental guest into the house, where he at once discovered her identity, and recovered his lost bearings.

Much to his relief he saw before him Mam'selle Adelaide Trotier, daughter of his old friend and patron, Jaques Trotier; and was in a house he had frequently before visited, situated on Trotier's farm, not quite a league from the old city wall. The girl explained that her father had gone to town early in the afternoon, and that she was anxiously expecting his return when she heard M. Saucier open the gate and come up the walk; and that she was feeling quite uneasy about his protracted absence; as he was very seldom detained in town to so late an hour. She had scarcely finished her last sentence when a step was heard on the veranda, and the door was opened by M. Trotier, who was no little astonished upon the unexpected meeting with his friend there. Explanations followed, and though the belated merchant was hospitably pressed to remain until morning, he declined, and, mounting his impatient horse, arrived at his own home as the threatened rain began to fall.

The adventures of that evening—most probably that impetuous kiss he received in the dark—wrought a notable change in M. Saucier's train of thought; and, also, in his plans for the future. His depression of spirits vanished and was replaced by marked cheerfulness. His equestrian excursions became more frequent and less extended, usually ter-

minating at the Trotier farm. In short, it was soon noticed by his intimate associates that he had once more capitulated to Cupid, and, when, a few months later, his nuptials with the motherless Mam'selle Adelaide Trotier were announced in the Church, it elicited a variety of gossiping comments, but no surprise. The young lady was twenty-four years of age, handsome, tall and muscular; with some education and much amiability and sweetness of disposition. M. Saucier was then fifty-two years old—a little passed the middle period of life,—but in the prime of vigorous manhood.

The union of a man, some years passed the meridian of his probable existence, to a lady several years less than half his age, is usually—and justly—regarded as a violation of the natural order of things, and a consummate act of folly on the part of both. Yet, marriage under any auspices—the most flattering, or least promising—is always, in its happi ness-producing results, a mere matter of lottery—an untried experiment.

CHAPTER II.

The Boyhood and Education of Jean Baptiste Saucier.

Four leagues below Orleans, on the right, or northern bank of the river, is situated the pretty little village Lachapelle; and half a league beyond it, nestled in the vine-clad hills overlooking the picturesque valley of the Loir for miles, was the tasty, yellow-roofed cottage of M. Saucier, where himself and bride were domiciled a few weeks after their marriage. Their ticket in the matrimonial lottery, fortunately, drew the highest prize; for, notwithstanding the disparity of their ages, their natures were compatible, and their days were redolent with unmarred happiness.

The doctrine of special Providence perhaps cannot be sustained; but surely none will deny the special mercy vouchsafed poor humanity by its total impotency to penetrate the future. With this knowledge given to mortals, suicide would depopulate the earth; without hope life would be a dreary blank. Among the many useful articles M. Saucier had taken with him to the country from his town residence, was his factotum, Pierre Lepage, a young man of unexceptionable habits, industrious, honorable, and strictly reliable. Moreover, he was a broad-gauged optimist, with splendid flow of spirits and humor. Pierre was installed as general manager of the little estate, and saw to trimming the vines, pruning the trees, cultivating the garden and miniature fields, and took care of the pigs, the poultry, the cows, and horses. All the day he was busy from dawn till bed-time; and was usually singing or whistling when not talking or laughing; and if not working or eating, was often fiddling or dancing.

The sentiment of love is not contagious as measles or whooping cough, but may be communicated by example or association. Pierre was exposed to this infection, and was a very susceptible subject to its influence. The connubial bliss he daily witnessed in the cottage profoundly impressed him, and strengthened his conviction that it is not best for man to dwell alone. He pondered the matter over for some time, and the more he thought about it the more assiduous he became in his devotions, or rather, in his attendance at church. Heretofore the priest had, on several occasions, reprimanded him for his neglect of this duty, and

Pierre always excused himself on the plea of want of time. Now, however, he was, every Sabbath, the first one at the church door, and was a frequent caller at the priest's residence during week days, especially in the evenings. His neighbors, and the villagers, were for a time considerably surprised at this sudden manifestation of zealous piety, and began to surmise that Pierre's sins must be weighing heavily upon his conscience. This view seemed confirmed when he was seen to enter the confessional, supposedly to invoke the holy man's aid in lifting the burden from his sin-stricken soul. But they were mistaken. About all that Pierre had to confess to Father Jarvais was the fact that he was in love with his sister, Mam'selle Marie Jarvais; and that what he needed to ensure his happiness, and incidentally that of the young lady also, was not absolution so much as the good Father's consent to their union. This he obtained, and in due time they were married.

A year and a half had passed since M. Saucier had inducted his blooming young bride in their new home; and the fleeting days and months had brought to her increasing joy and happiness, and rose-tinted anticipations of a future blessing that would add new charms to that home, and gladden the hearts of its inmates. But, oh, how merciful it was for their sanguine hopes that no power could reveal to them the hidden calamity the future had in store for them.

On July 25th, 1726, the event occurred to which they had looked forward with glowing expectations, not unmixed, very naturally, with feelings of grave anxiety. On that day a son was born to them; and, for a short time it seemed that heaven had smiled upon them in the realization of their fondest wishes. The young mother had received the congratulations of her delighted husband and sympathetic friends and relatives around her; and had impressed on her infant's lips an impassioned kiss, when she was suddenly seized with horrible, agonizing convulsions, that continued at short intervals, baffling the skill of able physicians, and unceasing efforts of heroic nurses, until death mercifully relieved her of her suffering.

Marie Lepage, whose honeymoon had scarcely passed, remained resolutely by the stricken young woman's bedside, rendering every service in her power, until the awful scene was closed; and then took charge of the motherless child, constituting herself its foster mother and most affectionate and devoted nurse.

It is needless here to dwell upon the effect of this great bereavement upon Monsieur Saucier. Its crushing shock can much more readily be imagined than described. This pitiless stroke wellnigh bereft his life of every charm and hope. But from the almost intolerable misfortune there yet remained to him one incentive to live, and to continued exertion. The young life consigned to his love and care by the holy affection and confidence of the one who gave her life for it, demanded, and must receive, his unsparing attention for the balance of his declining years.

One bright Sunday morning the babe was taken down to the village church and baptized by Father Jarvais, receiving the name of Jean Baptiste Saucier, after a favored relative of his father, one Jean Baptiste Saucier, who had recently gone to America in the King's service.*

* See Appendix, Note B.

Pierre and Marie Lepage enjoyed the special privilege and honor of appointment as his god-father and god-mother. No more willing or faithful sponsors for the motherless child could have been selected. Under the angel-like watchfulness of Madame Lepage he thrived and grew apace, developing robust proportions, and rather more than average activity and intelligence.

Three years then passed over the house of mourning, when the gloom of its great sorrow was measurably dispelled and enlivened by a gleam of joy, this time unattended, or followed, by casualty or disaster. To Pierre and Marie was born a daughter, which event the proud father lost no time in heralding throughout the neighborhood and village. All went well, and the sunlight of love and joy again illuminated the cottage. The time for another baptism was soon at hand. By this time Pierre's exuberance of happiness had settled down sufficiently to permit him to think coherently, and he asked Marie if she had yet thought of a name for their girl.

"Yes, Pierre, I have", she said, "as a testimonial of our respect and affection for the sainted dead, and a token of gratitude to M. Saucier for the kindness and benefits we have received at his hands, I think we should name our child Adelaide; don't you?"

"Indeed I do, Marie", said Pierre, "and for the additional reason that Adelaide was my good old grandmother's name also."

And, so, the child received that name; but for convenience it was abridged to Adel. The two children infused new life and light in the cottage; and it regained much of its former cheerful home-like appearance. They were reared together as brother and sister, sharing alike the love and tender care of the young mother, and of Pierre and the old gentleman. In time they grew strong enough to follow Pierre about when at work in the garden, or among the vines, and to ride with him in the cart to and from the fields. And when Marie dressed them out in gay attire, M. Saucier experienced great pleasure and pride in taking them with him in his gig on his frequent visits to the village, where they were petted and admired by friends and relatives. In course of time they daily walked to the village together, when the weather was fair, the boy carrying their dinner basket, and attended the village school, and learned the catechism. It was a long walk, but as other children joined them along the road, they enjoyed the exercise and were benefitted by it. In bad weather, or muddy roads, Pierre bundled them in his cart and took them to the school house, and returned for them when school was dismissed in the evening.

Jean Baptiste rapidly grew to be a manly lad; stout, athletic, and courageous. He learned quickly, was fond of active sports, and, though neither ill-tempered or quarrelsome, was not slow to resent an insult, or redress a wrong. In consequence, he often had occasion to test his muscular power, and was not long in being accorded the pugilistic championship of the school.

Adel was of quiet and retiring disposition, but brave and spirited enough to admire her foster-brother's knightly traits. They were brought up, as their parents and ancestors had been, in the Catholic faith, and together received elementary religious instruction at Father Jarvais'

parochial school; and together they knelt at the altar in their first Communion.

But the happy childhood days were fleeting, and the inevitable time at length arrived decreeing their separation, and diverging their young lives into different channels. The boy would ere long have to assume his part in the serious drama of life, and needed to be well prepared for it. He had exhausted the old village teacher's resources and learning, and must seek higher instruction at the Academy in Orleans. He left his home for the first time, and though his destination was but a few miles away, the leave taking left no dry eyes in the cottage. He visited his home at the close of each week; yet, his absence left a dreary void that dampened the hilarity of the family circle.

He was graduated at the Academy at the head of his class, and then accompanied his father to Paris, to visit his uncle, Col. Felix Xavier Saucier, and to see the many attractive sights visible in the splendid metropolis. It is a family tradition that Colonel Saucier bound the boy's hands together behind his back with a handkerchief, when he took him through the great palace at Versailles, in order to restrain his intense desire to touch or handle the swords and other glittering arms he saw there at every turn.

Jean Baptiste was so captivated by the fine martial bearing of Colonel Saucier, and the perfect discipline and gorgeous appearance of his regiment of Royal Guards, that he determined then and there to emulate his uncle's course in the profession of arms; and to consecrate his life to the cause of his king and his country. His natural aptitude for that calling, and erect, soldierly, figure, won the Colonel's admiration and encouragement. After much persuasion he gained his father's consent; then through the influence and efforts of his uncle, was admitted into the Royal Military School as a cadet.

This disruption of home ties—destined to be prolonged indefinitely —cast upon the inmates of the cottage overlooking the Loir a deeper cloud of sadness. M. Saucier wandered about the fields and vineyards aimlessly as though lost, and Adel wept in secret. Pierre was not so jolly as of old, and had frequent moments of serious reflection. And poor Marie, diligent as ever with her routine domestic affairs, often blamed the onions, or mustard, or the dust or smoke, for bringing tears to her eyes that she wiped away with her apron.

Jean Baptiste was too thoroughly engrossed in his studies and duties to be homesick. His excellent scholarship, assiduous application and intellectual alertness enabled him to readily master the curriculum and training of L'Ecole Militaire; from which he emerged at the early age of twenty-two with a commission of Lieutenant of Engineers in the Royal Army.

He returned to his cottage home on a brief leave of absence, arrayed in the tinseled trappings of his newly attained rank, a superb type of physical manhood and gallant soldier. All gazed on him with pride, and feelings akin to adoration. Pierre no longer called him pet names, but doffed his hat in respectful obeisance; and Marie, in happy amazement, addressed him as *Monsieur* Jean Baptiste. Adel could scarcely realize that the handsome young military officer, in showy uniform, now before her, was the impetuous boy companion of her childhood;

and she awoke to the consciousness that her sisterly affection for him had somehow changed to a different and loftier sentiment. This discovery caused her to be strangely demure and reserved in his presence. Too soon the limit of his furlough expired; and he received orders from the War Department at Paris, to report for duty at once to Major Makarty at Brienne. Then came the trying ordeal of taking final leave of his dear old home where he had passed all the early and happiest years of his life, and of the loved ones he was destined never to see again.

Feeling his fortitude about to desert him, he tore himself away, after receiving the tremulous blessing of his gray-haired father, the tearful farewell of big-hearted Pierre, and fervent embrace of his beloved foster-mother, Marie, and lastly, the parting kiss of Adel, now a charming maiden with lustrous black eyes, rosy cheeks and queenly figure, who, with mighty effort, repressed her tears until the young soldier had disappeared down the winding road leading to the village.

It is altogether probable that the order of the Ministre de Marine to the young officer, to join Major Makarty's command for service in America, was in compliance to his own request. The romance and glamour of the new world, centering in highly colored representations of wild, free life on the great Mississippi, were still attracting there many from the better classes of the French people. Moved by the spirit of adventure usually exuberant at his age, and by aspirations for attaining distinction in the service of his country, Lieutenant Saucier did not hesitate to sever the sacred bonds of kindred, home, and friendships, in responding to that call to duty. Two considerations, however, tended to ameliorate the pangs of that sacrifice and his prospective exile; one was the vague hope that his absence would not be of long continuance, and the other that he would meet relatives of his father there who had preceded him to the new empire, one of whom, in particular, a civil engineer, who had long been employed in the construction and preservation of old Fort Chartres.*

CHAPTER III.

Fort Chartres in the Illinois.

In the autumn of 1718, Pierre Duque Boisbriant, recently appointed Commandant of the Illinois, by the Company of the Indies, arrived at Kaskaskia with a detachment of troops for the purpose of constructing a fort in that region to protect the Company's interests there, and the French colonists in that portion of New France. Boisbriant, a Canadian by birth, and cousin of Bienville, then Governor of Louisiana, arrived at Mobile on the 9th of February, 1718. Proceeding to Biloxi he there made his preparations, and then commenced his long voyage up the great river, which he accomplished by fall without incident of note. Gov. Bienville and a colony of French accompanied him from Mobile to a point on the east bank of the Mississippi, thirty leagues above its mouth, where they founded a post they named Iberville, subsequently re-named New Orleans.

* See Appendix, Note B.

The site selected by Boisbriant for his fort in the Illinois, was near the east bank of the Mississippi, on the flat alluvial bottom land, sixteen miles above Kaskaskia; having a long slough, or lake, the remains of an ancient channel of the river, on the east midway between it and the bluffs four miles away. This slough, he supposed, would add materially to the strategic strength of the position. The fort he erected there was a wooden stockade reinforced on the interior with earth taken from the excavations of the exterior moats. It was completed in 1720, and named Fort de Chartres, as a compliment to the Regent, whose son was Le Duc de Chartres.

This fort was for many years the *chef-lieu,* or seat of civil as well as military government of the Illinois district embracing the territory from the mouth of the Ohio to Canada between the Mississippi and Wabash rivers. In 1731, the Company of the West failed and surrendered their charter to the king. The Illinois was by this act receded to the crown of France.

For the protection of Kaskaskia from threatened incursions of the fierce Chickasaws, below the mouth of the Ohio, a stockade fort, was in the year 1733, erected on the bluff just east of the town, and a portion of the troops at Fort Chartres were sent there to garrison it. This Kaskaskia fort has been known, erroneously, since the conquest of the Illinois by George Rogers Clark, as "Fort Gage." Its name, and the name of its builder, are lost. It was a French fort, and when the disheartening news of the cession of the country by the craven King of France to the English, in 1763, reached the town of Kaskaskia, the indignant citizens set fire to the fort and destroyed it, determined that the hated ensign of England should not float over it. The "Fort Gage" entered by Col. George Rogers Clark, on the night of the 4th of July, 1778, was the stockaded Jesuit buildings in the town, occupied by the British under the command of M. Rocheblave.*

It is much to be regretted that so few of the records and official documents of old Fort Chartres have been preserved to reveal to us the story of its occupants in their daily life; of the stirring events, and strange, thrilling scenes transpiring there; of the busy throngs that came and went; of the military expeditions marching from its gates to repel invasions, or attack distant enemies; of the Indians lounging about its gates, or camped near by; of the joys and sorrows, deaths and griefs, hopes and disappointments of its inmates in their remote exile from civilization.

About the close of the first half of the Eighteenth century France and England were again at war because of a disagreement between Frederick the Great and Marie Theresa; and this produced serious disturbances in the settlements in the Illinois. Some Englishmen lurking

* Fort Chartres passed into possession of the English in 1765. Seven years later, in 1772, occurred an extraordinary rise of the Mississippi that inundated all the low lands along its borders. The water rose in Fort Chartres to the depth of seven feet. The northwest bastion, and greater part of the western wall fell into the river. The Fort was abandoned by the English, who took possession of the large buildings of the Jesuits in Kaskaskia, surrounding them with a stockade, which they named Fort Gage, and there established their seat of government, military and civil, for the Illinois. At the period of Capt. Bossu's second visit to Fort Chartres, in 1755, the fort on the hill, east of Kaskaskia, was garrisoned by French troops commanded by Captain Montcharvaux. It was destroyed in 1766.
See "The Armament of Fort Chartres," a paper in the 1906 *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, page 225.

on the Mississippi were arrested as spies and confined in the dungeon at Fort Chartres. Then rumors came of a contemplated English and Indian attack on the Fort in retaliation. Chevalier de Bartel, the Commandant of the Post was sorely perplexed. The Fort was sadly out of repair, and supplies of all sorts very nearly exhausted. Many of the soldiers of the garrison, tiring of idle confinement had deserted to try free life in the woods and prairies. "Many of the old-time Indian allies were won over by the British, and had agreed to destroy the French post during the moon of the fall of the leaf; but in this were thwarted by the skill and address of De Bartel."*

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, gave the dissolute King of France, Louis XV, brief respite from contention with England and profitless continental wars, only to sink deeper in vice and debauchery, and to become more completely under control of the beautiful, soulless Madame de Pompadour. He had impoverished France by his profligacy, and support, with his armies and treasury, of his father-in-law's claims to the throne of Poland, and in the wars of the Austrian succession. Meanwhile his American colonies were utterly neglected, and some of his western military posts, including Fort Chartres, on the verge of abandonment. This latter calamity, however, was averted "when", again quoting from Mr. Mason's paper, "the Marquis de Galissoniere, Governor General of Canada, presented a memorial on the subject to the home government. He (therein) said, 'The little colony of Illinois ought not to be left to perish. The King must sacrifice for its support. The principal advantage of the country is its extreme productiveness; and its connection with Canada and Louisiana must be maintained'." Again in January, 1750, he urged upon the King the importance of preserving and strengthening the post at the Illinois; describing the country as open and ready for the plough, and traversed by an innumerable multitude of buffalos. 'And these animals', he says, are covered with a species of wool, sufficiently fine to be employed in various manufactories'. And he further suggests, and doubtless correctly, that the buffalo, 'if caught, and attached to the plough would move it at a speed superior to that of the domestic ox'."

The King was at last aroused to a proper understanding of the deplorable condition of affairs in his far western possessions, and decided upon a vigorous policy to defend and retain them. He ordered Fort Chartres to be rebuilt with stone, and garrisoned with a body of regular troops. For the reconstruction of the Fort he appropriated a million of crowns; and ordered large quantities of munitions, and other supplies, to be sent up the Mississippi at once.

In the summer of 1751, Chevalier Makarty,† a Major of the Engineer Corps, a rugged soldier of remote Irish descent, arrived at the

* Old Fort Chartres. A paper read by Hon. E. G. Mason before the Chicago Historical Society, June 16th, 1880. Fergus Co., Chicago.

† This is the correct spelling of his name, as written by himself on the parish records of the Church of St. Anne of New Chartres. Of Major Makarty, who was Commandant at Fort Chartres during the very interesting period of its construction, unfortunately but little is known. Of his personal history and characteristics we know absolutely nothing. But meagre mention is made of him in any of our local histories; and the records of his official acts are lost, or stored in the state archives at Paris. In 1753, M. DuQuesne, Governor General, wrote to the Minister of Marines, at Paris, charging Commandant Makarty with illicit sales of liquor to the Indians and French settlers, and advising that he be relieved therefor of his command. But no attention was paid to this charge, and he was not relieved until 1761, and then by his own request; as, at this time, he was incapacitated for active service by reason of disability from rheumatic gout.

Fort, from France, with a considerable military force and a large number of artisans and laborers, and boats ladened with tools, ammunition, arms, provisions and clothing. The Major assumed command of the post, and lost no time in beginning the great work he had been sent there to do. In this era of scientific military engineering it is difficult to imagine any reason for locating a defensive work upon such a wretched site as that selected for Fort Chartres. It was situated on sandy, alluvial soil but little elevated above the river's level, and continually subject to the river's encroachments; with a slough between it and the river bank, and a large slough between it and the bluffs; and in the midst of pestilential malarious, mosquito-infested, swamps. And why an Engineer of Chevalier Makarty's presumed attainments erected a splendid fortress, at immense expense on the same ground is beyond comprehension, excepting on the supposition that he acted in obedience to positive instructions. His arrival at the post, with well equipped and well disciplined soldiers and their sprightly officers, accompanied by a small army of skilled mechanics and laborers, and a fleet of keel-boats of stores, produced a great sensation not only at the decayed and nearly deserted post, but all through the settlements in the Illinois. Fort Chartres awoke from its lethargy and was transformed to a scene of busy animation. The hum of a new activity resounded in the forest and distant hills. The *habitants* of the bottom were elated; and the Indians gazed upon the new arrivals in mute surprise.

Captain M. Bossu, who came up the Mississippi with a company of marines, the following spring, 1752, writing from Fort Chartres, says, "LeSieur Saussier, an engineer, has made a plan for constructing a new Fort here according to the instruction of the Court. It will bear the name of the old one, which is called Fort de Chartres." The stockades of the old fort were decayed beyond repair, though the buildings they enclosed were yet tenable and in fair condition. The site chosen for the new structure was not half a league above the old Fort, and but a short distance from the river.*

At that point a mission for the Kaskaskia Indians had many years before been established—which was perhaps one reason for locating the new Fort there—and it served as the nucleus of quite a town at the gate of the Fort, subsequently known as Nouveau (New) Chartres.

Chevalier Makarty began operations by sending a large force of workmen to the bluffs at the nearest escarpment of limestone, about four miles east, where they built temporary quarters of logs covered with clapboards, there to blast the rock and cut the detached masses to required dimensions. "The place in the bluff may be seen to this day where the stone was quarried to erect the fort."† Another force of laborers, with carts drawn by oxen, conveyed the dressed stone, around

* I acknowledge with pleasure my indebtedness to Hon. H. W. Beckwith, President of the Illinois State Historical Society, for important references corroborating this fact, and correcting the common impression that the new fort, built of stone, was a reconstruction of the old stockade. Captain Bossu, who again visited the fort in 1755, says—in his *Travels en Louisiane*—"I came once more to the old Fort Chartres, where I lay in a hut, till I could get lodging in the new fort, which is almost finished."

† Reynold's *Pioneer History of Illinois*. "The finer stone, with which the gateways and buildings were faced, was brought from beyond the Mississippi." E. G. Mason.

the end of the slough, in the dry season, to the builders by the river; and in the wet season to the slough, or lagoon, across which they were ferried in flat boats, and then taken on to the required place. Beside these were lime burners, mortar mixers, wood choppers and whip-sawyers, carpenters, blacksmiths, boatmen, teamsters, hunters, cooks and servants, comprising, with the soldiers, a population of several hundreds. The new fort was projected on a more modern plan than the old one, and was much larger; a quadrangle, comprising an area of four acres. The exterior walls of massive masonry, thirty inches in thickness at the base, and loop-holed for musket and artillery firing, rose sixteen feet in height, with square bastions at each corner, and midway in the west wall was a small gate for convenience of access to the river landing. The northeastern bastion having the flagstaff was higher than the others. In the southeastern bastion was situated the magazine of stone, laid in cement now as hard as flint. It is yet in sound preservation; its vertical end walls twenty-five feet in height, closing the arch between. Its floor, seven feet below the surface, and its interior, well plastered with cement, measuring twenty-five feet by eighteen; and twenty-two feet from floor to apex of the arch. There were also long lines of barracks, officer's quarters, and store rooms.

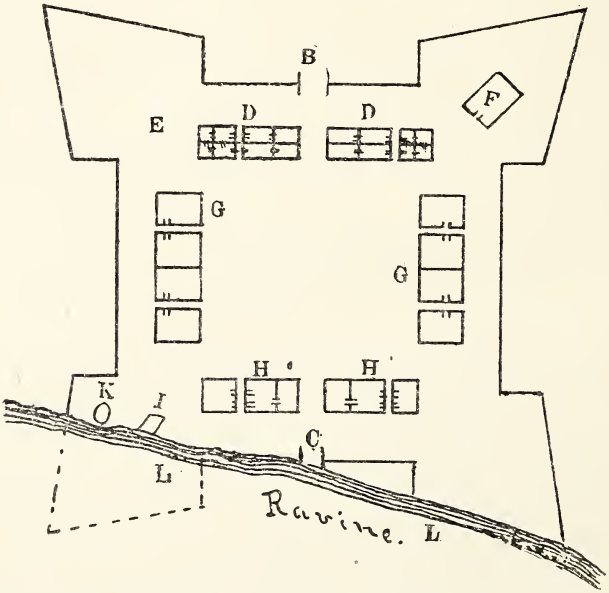
The period occupied in building the new fort was one of unprecedented prosperity for that portion of New France. Kaskaskia, the metropolis of the Illinois, the center of its widespread commerce, and of its wealth and industries, profited largely by its proximity to the military post. Its citizens of French lineage, were not distinguished for energy or enterprise, but were thrifty and self-reliant. With this continuous round of mirth and festivities they were not unmindful of their own interests. Cahokia, twenty-eight miles above the fort, on the Mississippi, rivaled Kaskaskia as a trading point, was almost its equal in population, and its people were as noted for their social gaieties and generous hospitality. Prairie du Rocher, settled in 1722, and nestled at the foot of a high perpendicular cliff of the bluffs, four miles southeast of the fort, gained much importance during the construction of the new fortification. St. Philip, founded by Renault, five miles above the old fort, on his extensive land grant, had passed the zenith of its growth, and was already known among the settlers as "Le Petite Village". New Chartres in the parish of St. Ann, near the main gate of the new fort, gained the proportions of a considerable town having absorbed the greater part of the population of the town below, near the old fort,* with a large part of that of St. Philip, and comprised the temporary homes of the mechanics and laborers employed on the new structure; also of some of the officers and soldiers having families.

These settlements constituted an isolated community surrounded by Indians, having only periodical communication with the outside world by way of New Orleans, or the northern lakes and Quebec. They were all situated on the alluvial "bottom" of the Mississippi, a region of unsurpassed fertility, teeming with wild fruits and nuts, and overrun

* "The site of this village was swept off by the Mississippi; so that not much of any vestige of it remains at this day. This village had its common field, commons for wood and pasture, its church and grave-yard, like the other settlements of Illinois." Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois.*

by herds of buffalo, deer, turkeys, prairie chickens, and other varieties of game; its numerous lakes and sloughs visited by myriads of water fowls, and alive with the finest of fish. Nature lavishly supplied, in a great measure, the simple wants of the people, and left both old and young to regard the pursuit of pleasure the chief object of existence.

PLAN OF FORT CHARTRES.



B. Main gate; facing the east.
C. The river gate.
D. D. Officers' quarters, hospital and store rooms. Each 96 feet in length and 36 feet in breadth.
G. G. Soldiers' barracks. Two stories high, 135 feet in length and 36 feet in breadth.
H. H. Storerooms and guardhouse. Each building 90 feet long and 24 wide.
E. One of the several wells.
F. The magazine.
I. The wine and kitchen cellar.
K. The bake oven.
L. L. A ravine marking the limit of erosion by the river in 1772, and the portion of the walls then washed away.

The large council hall back of the officers' quarters, is not shown in the cut. The bastions were more nearly square than the artist has represented them in the above diagram.

CHAPTER IV.

Social Life at the Fort.

The household of the Commandant, Chevalier de Makarty, consisted, with himself, of his son and daughter, his wife having died some years before of that entailed curse upon humanity, pulmonary consumption. The son, Maurice, acted in the capacity of his father's secretary and personal assistant. The daughter, Eulalie, a tall, slender, handsome girl of twenty summers, with very fair complexion, blue eyes and

auburn hair, though French by parentage and education, possessed some marked traits of her father's Celtic ancestry, with the physical constitutional frailties of her deceased mother. As some of the officers in the Chevalier's command were accompanied by their wives and families, she had come with her father and brother, by advice of her physician, in quest of health and vigor that a change of climate might offer.

She was by no means an invalid; and the rough, wild life at the post, for a time, greatly improved her strength and animation. In the quarters she enlivened the garrison with her music and laughter, when not engaged in alleviating the sufferings of the sick by her kind and patient attentions. A great deal of her time was passed in the open air when the weather permitted, as she was much interested in the progress of the work, and in everything she saw in the strange new country. She had for a companion—who followed her everywhere like her shadow—a mulatto servant, named Lisette, a native of Martinique, a few years her senior in age; strong, agile as a cat, and absolutely fearless. This maid was devoted to her young mistress almost to infatuation. In pleasant weather with bright skies, the two could be daily seen together, mounted on their ponies, galloping over the prairie; or on the high bluff viewing the grand panorama before them; or in a canoe, paddled by the intrepid Lisette, on the broad Mississippi; or fishing on the marais; or gathering wild flowers, nuts, or grapes near the Fort. Occasionally some of the ladies from the officers' quarters joined them, and quite often a gallant officer, then off duty, offered his services as an escort to guard them from harm, and to enjoy the young lady's smiles. Eulalie and her dusky maid needed no countersign to pass the camp sentinels; but were prudently restrained from going beyond the cordon of outriding pickets without an escort of armed horsemen.

The multitude of people at the Fort engaged in the gigantic work, and the number of officers and soldiers quartered there, rendered it an attractive place for all surrounding settlements; not only for sale of produce, and other traffic, but also for social enjoyment and pastimes. The Fort was frequently visited by parties of ladies and gentlemen from Kaskaskia, or Cahokia, or both, to spend the day in rowing, fishing, or picnicing, followed, after candle lighting by dancing.

Strict discipline was at all times enforced by the Commandant of the garrison. The troops were regularly drilled; sentinels and picket guards, or videttes, were constantly on duty, and the distant stone and wood workers and teamsters were guarded by squads of well armed soldiers. These precautions, apart from maintaining discipline and order, were necessary because of the defenseless condition of both forts, the old and the new, during the erection of the latter, in view of the many rumors of Indian hostilities, and possible attacks at any time by the despised English.*

* In 1752 six Indians of the Outagami, or Fox tribe, then residing west of Lake Michigan, came down the country on a hunting expedition, and were captured by the Cahokia Indians, who burned five of them at the stake. The sixth one escaped to return to his people and report the fate of his companions. A council was called, and revenge determined upon. One hundred and eighty bark canoes filled with Foxes and their allies, the Kickapoos and Sioux, descended the river, passing the fort at Cahokia, then commanded by Chevalier de Volsci, at night without being seen. The Cahokias and Michigamis were encamped, as Bossu

Lieutenant Jean Baptiste Saucier reported for duty to Major Makarty at Brienne; and there, before sailing with his command from France, received from the Minister of Marine specific instructions regarding the character of fort the king desired to be erected. During the long, tedious voyage across the Atlantic, and the laborious ascent of the Mississippi, the young lieutenant was much in the company of the Major's daughter, Mam'selle Eulalie. And after their arrival at the old Fort, his relations with the Commandant continued confidential and intimate, his assignment as Chief Designer requiring his presence at headquarters much of his time. While there at work the young lady was frequently at his side, assisting in his drawings and calculations; and, when off duty, he was often her companion in morning excursions, and in the evening cotillions and waltzes. This continued association of the handsome young officer and the brilliant girl, in their distant exile, naturally engendered in both sentiments of mutual regard higher and more fervent than mere respect. And indeed, with her, this sentiment gradually deepened to an absorbing passion. He would probably have fully reciprocated this feeling, but for the everpresent image before him of his childhood's playmate, schoolmate, and more than sister, the stately Adel, far away on the sun-kissed hills of the Loire. He admired Eulalie, but loved Adel.

CHAPTER V.

Rescue of Commandant's Daughter.

All through the winter and succeeding summer the adjacent forest resounded with strokes of the woodman's axe and mason's hammer; and heavy blasting of rocky cliffs above Prairie du Rocher was reechoed like distant peals of artillery. The Indians watched the progress of the work in silent amazement, and the Creole settlers were loud in praises of their good and munificent King. The second winter passed pleasantly at the Fort with no cessation of labor in preparing building materials; or interruption of the usual exchange of polite courtesies between the officers and the elite of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Unrelaxed military vigilance was maintained; and the peace and quietude of the post was undisturbed, save by frequent false alarms of Indian uprisings, or English invasions.

The second Easter came and passed, and the snow and ice disappeared. The hickory buds were bursting in the woods tinged with green; and the prairie lark, just up from the south, enlivened the scene with his cheery notes. One beautiful morning in the early spring, Lieutenant Saucier had passed out of the river gate, on a tour of inspection of that portion of the structure, when he was suddenly startled by the discharge of a musket and loud shrieks of the sentinel stationed on the

says, but a league from Fort Chartres. The day on which the avengers arrived happened to be one of the numerous fast days of the Catholic church, when several of the Indians from the village had gone to Fort Chartres to witness the ceremonies of the Church there. They were all who survived the vengeance of the Foxes, who slew every man, woman and child remaining in the village, excepting a fifteen year old girl who ran to Capt. Bossu for protection and was not molested. Capt. Bossu says he witnessed this massacre "from an eminence near by"; but it is difficult to understand what "eminence" he found there, without it was one of the ancient prehistoric Indian mounds. The Foxes reascended the Mississippi river, firing their guns in triumph as they passed the Cahokia stockade.

river bank scarcely a rifle shot distant from where he stood. Rushing to the spot he saw the soldier wildly gesticulating and loudly calling for help. Glancing over the river bank, the Lieutenant saw the cause of his agitation—a sight that almost paralyzed him; but only for a moment. Eulalie and her maid, lured by the brilliance of the perfect day to resume their canoe excursions suspended during the long winter, had rowed some distance up the great stream, and returning, when but a short distance from the landing, a puff of wind blew the young lady's hat off into the water. In her effort to recover it she capsized the canoe, and the two girls were struggling for life in the turbid current of the river. Lisette was clinging to the upturned dugout with one hand, and with the other had grasped her young mistress and was endeavoring to support her head above the treacherous waves. The sentinel on duty there, a few yards away, witnessed the accident, but as he had never learned to swim, was powerless to afford help; yet, had the presence of mind to fire his gun to attract assistance.

As the Lieutenant reached the water's edge Lisette lost her hold of Eulalie who sank beneath the surface. Quick as thought, he threw aside his coat and hat and plunged into the stream. He was an expert swimmer, and though encumbered with his clothing, and the water was very cold, he caught the girl as she was disappearing, and, by exertion that only such an emergency could inspire, succeeded in bringing her to the shore.

When Lisette saw her mistress sink she quit the canoe to attempt her rescue; but the Lieutenant, who had by this time grasped the drowning girl, called to the servant to save herself, which she readily did by swimming to the bank. The report of the sentinel's gun and his frantic cries were immediately answered at the Fort by the long roll of the drum, and the company then on duty, led by its officers, came dashing to the place of supposed attack. A hand litter was quickly improvised upon which Eulalie, exhausted, pale and unconscious, but still breathing, was placed, warmly enveloped in several of the coats that nearly every member of the company divested himself of and offered for the purpose. She was hurriedly taken to her apartments, where the post surgeons, aided by all the ladies of the garrison, in time, resuscitated her. From the river bank Lisette, fatigued and, of course, dripping wet, walked briskly behind the litter borne by the soldiers, and could not be induced to lose sight of her mistress until assured that all immediate danger was passed.

Eulalie was saved from death by drowning; but the shock she received, together with the cold immersion, resulted in a severe attack of pneumonia that brought her to the verge of collapse. She was confined to her room for some weeks, for several days in the balance between life and death, the beam finally turning in her favor. The wild roses and sunflowers were in bloom when she had gained sufficient strength to sit in the dearborn, or caleche, cushioned around, for exercise in the prairie in the early mornings and evenings. A cough she had contracted during the Christmas festivities became aggravated and persistent. The melancholy fact that she was now an invalid, with serious pulmonary trouble, was apparent, with but little doubt of its ultimate result.

CHAPTER VI.

Early Navigation of the Mississippi.

Communication with France, by the residents of the Illinois, was at that era slow and uncertain. The best sailing vessels required from two to four months to cross the Atlantic; and often that length of time was consumed in propelling keel boats, or lighter craft, from New Orleans to Kaskaskia, or the Fort. About half the same period of time was necessary for the transmission of despatches and letters from Quebec, by friendly Indians, or hardy Canadian couriers, to the Illinois settlements. Traveling by either route was irksome and laborious, and attended by many dangers, particularly when passing through hostile tribes of Indians.

Lieutenant Saucier called frequently on Eulalie, and by affecting much cheerfulness himself, sought to stimulate her hopes, and inspire her with courage. And her spirits always revived when in his presence, or within sound of his voice.

Several weeks had passed since Eulalie's thrilling experience in the river when, one day, a courier, accompanied by several Indians, arrived at the Fort from Quebec, bringing official despatches from the Governor General, and also from the home government, and European mail for the Fort and surrounding settlements. When the Lieutenant called that evening, as usual, at the Commandant's quarters to enquire how the young lady had passed the day, and to assure her that she looked better, he received, among other letters from France, one with familiar superscription closed with a black seal, which he pretended not to notice as he hurriedly put it, with the others, in his pocket. He soon excused himself on the plea of duty, and, reaching the privacy of his room, tore the black-sealed missive open with trembling hands, and quivering lips. It was from Adel, and its contents caused a conflict of emotions; of profound grief and joy, of sadness and pleasure, that plunged him in deep thought, oblivious to his surroundings for a long time. She informed him of the death of his father; how he calmly passed away with his two sons and military brother by his side; how his priest son had administered to him extreme unction; and how in his last conscious moments he had spoken of, and invoked the blessings of heaven upon his youngest and beloved son, now in the King's service far away in New France. She described the funeral ceremonies, and told of the great concourse of friends of the deceased that followed his body to the grave. She then said that by this sad event her father, Pierre, would be thrown out of employment, as the estate would pass into other hands, and that he had concluded to emigrate to America and try his fortunes there. She added that they had engaged passage in a vessel named L'Etoile du Nord, for New Orleans, and would sail from the port of Brest about the tenth of February. In a postscript she told him he need not answer her letter, as their preparations for leaving the dear old cottage were then nearly completed.

Young Saucier was deeply affected by the death of his father, though he had passed the three score and ten allotted to humanity and succumbed to the inexorable law of nature. His grief was mitigated by

the reflection that he would again meet Adel and her dear, dear parents, much sooner than his most sanguine hopes had permitted him to expect.

After entering the military service the Lieutenant was always reticent about his family history and relatives, and confided to no one the profound and sincere love he entertained for Adel. For reasons of his own he mentioned to no one the information Adel's letter had conveyed, excepting to tell of his father's death to Chevalier Makarty.

He was now moody, silent and reflective, in such marked contrast with his usual social, jovial disposition, as to attract the notice of his associates, who charitably attributed the change to his tender solicitude for the invalid girl in the Fort, now slowly fading away. How to dispose of Pierre and Marie when they arrived gave him no uneasiness, as he was well able financially to situate them comfortably in any of the neighboring settlements. But there was another matter he could not so easily dispose of, that he now had to consider. He was fully aware of Eulalie's fervent regard for him; now intensified by gratitude for having saved her life at the risk of his own; and his sense of honor upbraided him for permitting her to be longer deceived respecting the true sentiments he entertained for her. He concluded he would frankly tell her that another had a prior claim to his affections. But then, Adel had never spoken or written to him of love, save that of a sister; and, for aught he knew, she might then be the plighted fianceé of another. Having nerved himself to the point of making a full disclosure of his perplexing thoughts and sentiments to Eulalie, he called upon her for that purpose. His resolution, however, failed him when, seated by her bedside, he took her feverish hand in his and looked into her shrunken, haggard face. He saw that her frail condition could not bear such a revelation; and he esteemed her too highly to subject her to the anguish of mind it would cause, and thereby endanger her slender hold upon life; and, so, postponed his intended confession to a more propitious time.

The days sped by and he continued dreamily to discharge his routine duties in silence.

The time had arrived for the annual descent of the fleet of keel boats to New Orleans for supplies for the post. The voyage that year was one of unusual importance, as engineer's reports and other weighty despatches were awaiting transmission to France, and a considerable amount of specie, large supplies, and a company of recruits for the Fort, must be brought up from New Orleans. The annual voyages to and from New Orleans were generally in charge of a subaltern of the Commissary, or Quartermaster's department; and they were by no means mere pleasure jaunts. The lading and unloading of the boats, their navigation, controlling the crews of boatsmen, and guarding against the many dangers by the way, involved grave responsibilities, and entailed many hardships, with much exposure and hard labor; requiring vigilance, prudence and great firmness. The boats commonly employed in this service, called *pirogues* by the French river men, were large, unwieldy, clumsy affairs, constructed of hewed timbers and whip-sawed plank fastened together with wooden pegs. Floating with the current and the use of oars, rendered descent of the stream comparatively easy; but stemming the river's current in its ascent for over a thousand miles was accomplished only

by persistent hard work. To surmount the force of the swift current for long stretches of the way, or to pass strong eddies, the boats were "cordeled"; that is, a long line was taken ashore and carried far above, where it was made fast to a tree on the river's bank. The boat was then drawn, by hand, or capstan, to that point; and this was repeated again and again until calmer water was reached, when the oars were once more plied. When practicable, the boats were drawn by the united strength of the crew walking along the shore, as horses draw canal boats. At night, when going up stream, the boats laid by in willow thickets bordering sand bars, or islands, for safety from surprises or night attacks by hostile Indians.

CHAPTER VII.

A Second Visit to New Orleans.

The Commandant was about to detail a non-commissioned officer for that summer's voyage, when he was much surprised by receiving an application from Lieut. Saucier for this duty. While Major Makarty would not have ordered a commissioned officer for this onerous service, he was pleased when Lieut. Saucier volunteered for it; for he knew that it could not be entrusted to anyone more reliable, or more capable to conduct it successfully, and gladly assented to his request.

Having perfected his preparations, the Lieutenant took leave of Eulalie, promising to return as soon as possible, and expressing the hope that he would find her much better when he came. His boats were furnished by the merchants of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, free of charge excepting the transportation down the river of their export produce. Some of them were loaded with lead in bars from Renault's mines at New Potosi, in the Spanish territory across the river; others carried cargoes of furs obtained in trade from the Indians; others with beeswax, dried venison, buffalo meat, and other products of the country. Even at that early day much wheat was raised by the *habitants,* and flour, ground by the water mills, was one of the principal exports of the country.

The Lieutenant's progress, with his fleet, down the river was rapid and without extraordinary incident. The tedium of the voyage was lightened by his anticipations of joy in meeting, at his destination, the loved ones who had left France some months before, and were probably then at New Orleans awaiting his arrival. In imagination he pictured the surprise of Pierre and Marie upon meeting him, and wondered how Adel looked, and what she would say.

Arriving at New Orleans, after securing his boats, he eagerly enquired along the river front for the expected vessel, L'Etoile du Nord, and was grievously disappointed when told that nothing had yet been heard of it. After paying his respects to Colonel Kerlerec, the then Governor of Louisiana, he secured pleasant lodgings, and proceeded industriously to discharge the duties of his mission. The Governor courteously took charge of his despatches, to transmit them, with his own, to the Minister of Marine by special messenger. Overhauling and refitting his boats; keeping his crews of boatsmen under control; receiving, receipting for, assorting and stowing away his cargoes of munitions, and supplies of various kinds, occupied his time for many days. Though he

was the recipient of many invitations from the Governor, officers, and citizens, to dinners, balls, and other social entertainments, he declined all that he well could on different pretexts, feeling that in his state of mental anxiety they would afford him no pleasure, and he could not acquit himself as a guest with credit.

He arose every morning with the sun, and took long walks along the river levee, or about the straggling town; and often during the day he scanned the great river southward hoping to catch sight of an incoming ship. Occasionally he was elated by seeing in the distance a sail slowly moving toward the landing. With feverish impatience he awaited its arrival, to be again overcome with disappointment when it proved to not be the vessel he was expecting, nor bringing any news of it. One evening, after an unusually busy day, he again, as was now his custom, sought the river side, with a lingering hope of perhaps gaining some tidings of those he longed to see. As he approached the river he was astonished on seeing a large ship moored near the wharf, from which its passengers and their luggage were being put ashore. The setting sun had touched the line of verdure that fringed the western river bank, and its departing rays converted the broad surface of the stream into a sheet of burnished gold. The resplendent beauty of the scene, however, was lost to the Lieutenant as he hurried to the water's edge to see the name of the vessel. He saw it painted in large letters above the rudder, and almost sank from revulsion of overwrought hope again blasted. The name he read was not "L'Etoile du Nord", but "La Cygne", and, as he soon learned, from Bordeaux, France, having touched on the way in at Fort Royale, in Martinique. Rallying his drooping spirits he clambered aboard to make inquiries for the object of his weary watching. Accosting the Skipper of the vessel, he asked if he could give him any information of "L'Etoile du Nord" that sailed from Brest four months ago. The burly old seaman, apprised by the questioner's uniform, that he was a military officer in the King's service, touched his cap, and answered courteously, regretting that he knew nothing of the ship; but said his Commis (Purser) over there perhaps did; and added, so far as he knew, that craft had not been heard from since it left the French port. The Purser, a brisk young man, busy with pencil and entry book, overheard the question and the Skipper's answer, and without looking up from his book and papers, said, "Is it of the French ship, L'Etoile du Nord, Monsieur is enquiring?"

"Oui, oui", gasped the Lieutenant, "can you tell me where she now is?"

"Yes"; answered the young man, between rapid strokes of his pencil, "she is in the bay of St. Pierre, in Martinique, undergoing repairs, having had a disastrous transit of the ocean. One of her passengers who came aboard this ship at Fort Royale, and has not yet gone ashore, can probably give you any additional information you may desire".

With great effort to appear calm the Lieutenant asked the busy Commis if he would be so kind as to point out to him the person mentioned.

"Certainly, Monsieur; there is the man, in white clothing and broad brimmed hat, sitting on the chest by the main mast".

The individual in white clothing, a middle aged man of gaunt frame, with grizzled hair and thin sallow face, evidently emaciated by prolonged sickness, was instantly confronted by the agitated young officer, who asked:

"Were you a passenger from France on L'Etoile du Nord?"

"Yes, Monsieur, I was", the man dryly answered.

"Tell me, please, were Pierre Lepage and his family on that vessel?" was the next anxious inquiry.

"They were", said the man with ominous emphasis on the "were".

"Can you inform me where they now are?" faintly asked the questioner.

"Yes. Monsieur, I can", replied the weary looking individual, "they are all three dead and at the bottom of the sea".

"Mon Dieu-" gasped young Saucier, "that surely cannot be possible".

"Yes; it is indeed possible, and too true. Did you know them, Monsieur?"

To this question the Lieutenant responded that he did.

"Pardon me, Monsieur", added the stranger, eyeing him closely, "may I ask who you are?"

"I am Jean Baptiste Saucier, from Lachapelle, near Orleans, in France, now in the King's military service".

"Ah, yes, yes", remarked the man musingly, "and so you was not slain by the Indians as was reported? I see how you knew Pierre Lepage and wife. They kept house for your father, whom I knew well; and I remember you when a school boy at the village near by your father's place. My name is Isadore Brusier. I lived in Tours, and my business occasionally called me to Orleans, and there I became acquainted with your father and his son Louis"——

"Pardon me, Monsieur Bruiser", interrupted Jean Baptiste, "but please tell me of the fate of the Lepages".

"Ah- Mon cher enfant", feelingly replied M. Brusier, becoming quite communicative, now that he knew to whom he was talking, "I have a very sad story to tell you. You have, I presume, heard of the death of your father? Yes; well, after his burial, his estate was sold for partition and passed into possession of strangers; so Lepage concluded to leave France and seek a new home in America. About that time—fortunately after your father death—the report came that you had been killed in battle with the savages. This report, believed by all to be true, very nearly caused Lepage to give up the voyage and remain in France,—and would to God that he had done so! But his preparations were completed, and he went to Brest with his wife and daughter, and took passage on the ill-fated ship on which my brother and myself embarked.

"The voyage, though tedious, was not unpleasant until we had traversed about two-thirds of the way, when we were struck by a terrific storm, coming from the northeast, that continued with unabated fury, for six days. Two of the seamen were washed, or blown away, as was also the main mast; and the ship sprung a leak that threatened to sink us to the bottom. We could do nothing but keep the vessel in line with

the course of the gale, and that carried us far out of our way in the direction of Brazil. It is well that L'Etoile du Nord was staunch and well built, else none of us would have ever reached dry land—and not many of us did, as it turned out.

"But we all worked the pumps, night and day, and kept afloat. When the storm at length abated, and the raging sea subsided, the leak in the hull was securely closed, and by crowding on all the sails the two remaining masts could carry, we regained our course and made fair headway, being driven by the African tradewinds. All this was bad enough; but as nothing compared to what fate yet had in store for us.

"What with calms, and storm and very slow sailing we had been on the sea for three months or more. Our supplies of water and provisions were running low; but we were all well, and buoyed up by the expectation of soon sighting some one of the West India Islands. The weather was intensely hot and the little water remaining in our casks was scarcely fit to drink. Suddenly, one day, one of the passengers was taken violently sick, and soon died. Then another was prostrated with the same symptoms and lived but a short time. Then we realized the appalling fact that the plague* had broken out among us and we were doomed to destruction by this horrid pestilence. Lepage was among the first victims, and lived but twenty-four hours. He was always jovial and good humored, and by his fine flow of spirits, had materially mitigated the dreariness of the voyage, and greatly aided in sustaining the flagging hopes and courage of all on board throughout all our troubles. We gently lowered his body into the sea; but had no time to indulge our grief, as he was quickly followed by others.

"The terrible disease attacked the strong as well as the weak, the old and the young alike, with pitiless severity. The only mercy it extended was to render its victims speedily unconscious. The ship's captain, surgeon, half the crew, and more than half of the passengers fell before the awful scourge and were consigned to the deep. Madame Lepage, who had been untiring in ministering to the sick and dying, was spared for some time; but, at length she was stricken down and soon breathed her last, following Pierre to an unmarked grave. We were now approaching the West India Islands, and very eager to reach land —any land—so that those of us who survived might abandon the infected vessel and flee to the shore for our lives. Only a day and a night after we had given to the waves the body of Marie Lepage, her daughter, Adel, already exhausted by grief and attention to the sick, was seized by the dreadful epidemic, and quickly succumbed to its deadly virulence. I was bathing her head with sea water, in her death struggles, when all at once I felt very sick. The ship seemed to be rapidly whirling around; everything became dark, and I fell to the deck unconscious.

"When I awoke, as though from a long, troubled sleep, I was in a large shed-like house thatched with palm leaves, on the highlands in the northern part of the island of Martinique, where my brother, who was of the number not attacked by the plague, had me immediately brought from the ship—we having entered the Bay of St. Pierre, in that island a few hours after I had fallen. There he and others took care of me until

* Probably a virulent form of Asiatic cholera.

I recovered. My brother having secured employment at Fort Royale will remain there until winter and then join me here where we will engage in business. As soon as the anchor was dropped in the Bay of St. Pierre my brother had me carried to the highest part of the island—as far as he could go from the death smitten ship—without stopping, and I have seen none of our surviving fellow-passengers since. I learned, however, before leaving Fort Royale, that L'Etoile du Nord was at once deserted by all the survivors aboard, and is still in the Bay of St. Pierre being thoroughly repaired."

CHAPTER VIII.

A Brush with Southern Indians.

Lieutenant Saucier sat as though stupefied while listening to Monsieur Brusier's startling narrative, and only by a mighty effort could he control his emotions when the narrator depicted the closing scene of Adel's young life. How he left the La Cygne and got back to his quarters in the town he never could remember. In the solitude of his room he contended with his great grief through the sleepless, restless, night. He was literally prostrated with the weight of sorrow that taxed all his fortitude to bear. His glowing day dreams were cruelly dissipated, and even hope had vanished and left him dismally alone in the world with nothing further to live for. The next morning was ushered in with rain; and dense black clouds covered the sky like a pall, as though the very elements were testifying their sympathy with the young soldier's woeful wretchedness. Pleading indisposition, he remained in his room and excused himself to all who called on him. In the evening a messenger from the Governor informed him that the company of recruits for the force at Fort Chartres, he was expecting, had arrived, and begged him to call at the executive office next morning to arrange for their transportation up the river. This had some effect to divert his mind from, and somewhat relieve it of, the dark gloom that had fallen upon him.

The next morning, he arose early, as usual, resolved, if possible, not to be overcome by his misfortunes; but to assert his manhood, and continue the conflicts of life with all the firmness he possessed. At the appointed hour he called at the Governor's office with little, if any, external indication of the soul-racking torture he was enduring. Arrangements for additional boats and provisions were perfected in a few days; and then, having neither incentive or desire to longer remain in the melancholy place, he hurried the preparations for his departure as rapidly as possible. In less than a week after his interview with the Governor he was ready to start, courting, rather than dreading, the perils and hardships that he knew awaited him.

As the prevailing winds at that time of the year are from the south, Lieutenant Saucier concluded to try the experiment, when they blew with sufficient force from that direction, of utilizing them in propelling his boats. Accordingly he caused a light, strong and movable mast to be stepped in each of his pirogues, rigged with spars and sails. Several

of his recruits, enlisted about the seaport towns of France, were familiar with the management of sailboats, and these he installed as his navigators.

At length all was in readiness, his bills were all settled, his cargoes snugly stowed in the boats, and his round of farewell calls ended. His men were in superb condition for service, and at the dawn of one of the closing days of July, he left New Orleans with his fleet having every sail set and filled by a stiff breeze from the Gulf. Not a sail was furled during the entire day, and they proved valuable adjuncts to the oars. The sun in setting must have passed the new moon, as it appeared in the early twilight a little way above the western horizon, and was pronounced by the sages among the crews, a "dry" moon, augering a propitious voyage and pleasant weather. The river was at that season at its lowest stage, and its current, in consequence, at its slowest rate; so, the progress of the flotilla, if not rapid, was quite satisfactory. In propelling the boats the men had regular relays at the oars, and when off duty, some slept, others fished, and a few, with musical talent, enlivened the toil of their comrades with exhilirating strains of the violin.

Everything went well until the mouth of the Arkansas was passed. Indians at several places along the river, had come to the boats in their canoes in friendship, to beg, or to barter game they had killed for calico and brass ornaments; but though manifesting no unfriendly disposition then they were known to be treacherous and utterly unreliable. To guard against night attacks of hostile savages ashore—for there was no danger whatever from them in midstream, or in day time—keelboatmen cautiously landed on one side of the river in the evening, or on an island, and there made fires and spread their meals. Then extinguishing the fires, resumed their course for a short distance, and tied up on the opposite shore until morning.

On the evening of the fourth day after having passed the mouth of the Arkansas river, the sky became heavily overcast with dark clouds, and the rumbling thunder and vivid lighting were sure harbingers of an approaching storm. The boats that had been lined up on the Arkansas side of the river for the evening repast, were hastily cast loose, and, as customary, rowed to the opposite side, in the rain and darkness, and made fast to the overhanging trees there for the night. Not an Indian had been seen during the day on either side of the river: or any indication of their presence observed anywhere. By the time the boats were secured to the river bank, and the tarpaulins drawn over each, the rain descended in torrents, and continued for the greater part of the night.

At early dawn next morning, the rain had ceased, but the sky was still obscured by clouds, and the air was hot and sultry. The men, glad to escape from the sweltering confinement of the boats, leaped ashore with the first rays of light in the east, and began to kindle fires to prepare their breakfast. A few of them had the precaution to take their arms with them as they left the boats, probably from force of habit. Of this number was Lieutenant Saucier, who never went ashore without his trusty carbine. While all were busily engaged in search of fuel dry enough to feed the flickering fires, they were suddenly assailed by a

shower of bullets from the surrounding trees and undergrowth, followed by a chorus of unearthly yells and whoops, as a large band of hideously painted savages rushed wildly upon them. The few Frenchmen armed stood their ground, and with steady aim returned the fire of their assailants as they advanced, then clubbing their guns went fearlessly into the fight. Those without their arms fled to the boats to secure them, and very soon returned with the balance of their comrades who had not before landed, all well armed, and lost no time in coming to the support of those holding the Indians at bay. They charged upon the horde of red demons, who had not had time to reload their guns, with such fury, that they fell back, and scattered in full retreat. In this brief but spirited engagement the Frenchmen fought with the courage and precision of well-trained veterans. They followed up the advantage their first charge gave them, and advanced in quick time, firing at the retreating foe as long as one of them could be seen. At the first appearance of the Indians, Lieutenant Saucier fired and killed the one nearest him; then seizing his carbine by its muzzle he brained the next one, and struck right and left, at the same time cheering his men on, until his reinforcements came up, when he led them on until the enemy was dispersed. He was twice wounded, but not seriously, and was not aware of having received any injury until the fight was all over. The Frenchmen lost but one man, one of the new recruits was killed, but several of the others were more or less severely wounded. Seven of the Indians were left dead on the ground, and several more so badly wounded they could not escape, and they, the infuriated boatmen despatched without mercy. They breakfasted without further molestation, then pushed off, continuing their voyage, taking with them the body of the dead soldier which they buried at evening on the western side of the river. The wounded were made as comfortable as possible, and they proceeded, with more caution, and without further incident or accident, to their destination.

CHAPTER IX.

Death of the Commandant's Daughter.

The first frosts of early autumn had tinged the dark green maples with scarlet and gold, and the ripening hickory nuts and pecans were beginning to fall, when the long line of boats were drawn up to the Fort landing. The commander of the successful expedition, who had not yet recovered entirely from his wounds, looked haggard and careworn. Leaving the boats, he marched the recruits, not disabled from wounds or sickness, to the barracks, and then repaired to the Commandant's quarters. His knock at the door was answered by Lisette who to his hurried inquiries, told him her young mistress was very low, and daily failing in vitality; also, that as long as she could speak she had asked about him every day, and prayed that she might see him again before she was called away to her mother. Following the devoted servant into the sick chamber he was shocked upon seeing the ravages wrought by the unrelenting disease during his absence. The sunken cheeks flushed with hectic fever, the glistening eyes, the cruel, persistent cough and hot, dry hands, plainly told that the fair young girl was doomed and her life

nearing its close. She spoke his name in a husky whisper as she extended her thin bloodless hand, and a gleam of radiant joy lighted her wan features when he pressed it, and implanted a kiss upon her forhead. She was too far exhausted to speak to him; but the mute eloquence of her expression assured him that his presence afforded her real comfort and happiness. Almost heartbroken already by M. Brusier's narrative, the pathetic sadness of Eulalie's condition very nearly overpowered him. All the strength he could command was required to control his feelings while by her side, and not add to her distress by an exhibition of emotional weakness. With great effort he appeared cheerful, and tried to speak to her in the pleasant, airy strain of other days—and partially succeeded. But he could not long sustain this unnatural simulation, and, with a promise to call again in a short time, he took leave of her and hurried to his own quarters, and there found relief in unmanly tears that could no longer be repressed.

The arrival of the boats with stores, mails and recruits, was an exciting event at the Fort. From the Commandant down to the servants, all were elated and eager to hear an account of the voyage, and learn what was going on in the outer world. The pirogues were unloaded and sent back to Kaskaskia; the sick and wounded were carried to their separate wards in the hospital; the munitions were safely placed in the magazine, and other supplies in the store rooms; and the voluminous mail matter promptly distributed. Lieutenant Saucier was weak and still suffering from his wounds, and sorely depressed in mind; but refused to be billeted by the post surgeon to the hospital, and applied himself as diligently as his condition permitted to writing the report of his transactions in New Orleans, and of his fight with the Indians, and all other important incidents of his memorable descent and ascent of the great river. He visited Eulalie every day as often as his duties permitted, and experienced some assuagement of the oppressive affliction he was bearing in silence, by his efforts to soothe and mollify the fleeting hours of her waning life. He recounted his adventures on the river, and told her of amusing incidents and strange sights he had witnessed at New Orleans; and by interesting her in that way sought to detract her attention from the gloom and misery of her mournful fate.

A week, or more, had passed since the arrival of the boats at the Fort, and the commotion that event caused had gradually subsided to the ordinary routine life of the post. One beautiful morning in the mellow haze of lovely Indian summer, the bright sunshine streaming through the invalid's open window, and the soft, invigorating breeze fanned her wasted form, the Lieutenant sat by her side with her small hand clasped in his; her brilliant blue eyes were fixed upon his sad face, a sweet smile played upon her pallid lips, and then, without sigh or tremor, her spirit took its flight, so gently and quietly that, for several moments, those around her could scarcely realize that the struggle was ended.

"Eulalie is dead", was whispered throughout the garrison, and all was hushed; all labor suspended; the flag floating from the highest bastion was lowered to half mast and the great fortress became at once a house of mourning. They draped her cold body in robes of spotless white, and laid it in state in the large hall, where she had, in health,

reigned as queen of the dance and joyous festivities, and received the homage of all in her social realm. Then placed in a coffin covered with white velvet, they conveyed her to the church in Kaskaskia, preceded by a guard of honor with arms reversed, the flag craped and drums muffled, followed by all the officers and ladies of the Fort, and a large concourse of civilians from the adjacent settlements. After the sacred offices of the priests she was tenderly consigned to the grave in the village cemetery near the church and buried with military honors.

CHAPTER X.

Defeat of Washington at Fort Necessity.

The grand object to be the attained in rebuilding Fort Chartres was the permanent security of French possessions on the Mississippi, and, incidentally, the maintenance of peace. But the great work was not completed when hostilities between England and France again commenced. Their respective military forces in America, ever at variance, were not long in engaging in earnest conflict. In the month of May, 1754, one George Washington, a Virginian, in the service of the English King, commanding a body of militia from his native state, then stationed in Pennsylvania, surprised Coulon de Jumonville with a small detachment of French soldiers, near the Youghiogeny, (not far from the present city of Connellsville, in Fayette county), and defeated him, Jumonville falling at the first fire, shot through the head.*

The report of this affair, and its resultant disaster to the French arms, when received at Fort Chartres produced the wildest consternation, and fired the military ardor of the inactive garrison. Neyon de Villiers, the senior Captain of Chevalier Makarty's command, a brother-in-law of Jumonville, asked leave of the Commandant to march to the scene of conflict and assist in avenging the death of his relative and regaining the lost prestige of France in that quarter. This leave he readily obtained; and, with alacrity, began his preparations for the expedition.

To the depressed mind of Lieutenant Saucier the excitement and hazard of this undertaking offered alluring promise of relief. He felt willing to undergo any hardships; or risk any danger that would tend to revive his broken spirits and divert his thoughts from the sad occurrences of the past few months. He volunteered his services, and was granted permission by the Commandant to accompany Capt. de Villiers as one of his Lieutenants. A hundred picked men were selected and fully equipped with everything necessary for the long journey. The boats were overhauled and put in order. Embarking, they proceeded down the Mississippi, then up the Ohio to Fort du Quesne, where they joined the force of Coulon de Villiers, an elder brother of the Captain. They there organized their men in four companies under trusted officers, and sallied forth in the quest of the enemy. Washington, apprised, by Indians friendly to the British, of the advancing French, retreated to the Great Meadow, a short distance from the spot where he had assassinated Ensign Jumonville, a short time before. There he sought safety in Fort Necessity, a temporary defense of little strength, and

* "Judge it as we may, this obscure skirmish began the war that set the world on fire." *Montcalm and Wolf.* By Francis Parkman. Vol. 1. p. 150.

awaited the avengers. He had not long to wait. De Villiers was soon upon him, and investing his entrenchments, poured in upon him a murderous fire from all sides. The engagement lasted nine hours. Washington seeing the futility of contending longer with such a superior and determined foe, after a short parlay, surrendered. The French, magnanimously permitted him to march out with side arms and camp equipage. In this affair Washington lost twelve killed and forty-three wounded. He returned to the east side of the Alleghanies, leaving not an Englishman or English flag on their western side. On leaving Fort Necessity, Washington's Indian allies killed all his horses and cattle, plundered his baggage, knocked his medicine chest in pieces, and killed and scalped two of his wounded men. Left with no means of transportation his men were obliged to carry their sick and wounded on their backs.* He commenced his retreat on the fourth of July, a day afterward made glorious to a new born nation. The Fort Chartres contingent returned to the Mississippi flushed with victory, and without loss of a man.

They received a royal welcome from the garrison, and their successful humiliation of Mr. Washington and his loyal militia was celebrated in all the settlements around the Fort with prolonged festivities.

Not long after the return of this expedition a courier arrived at the Fort from Montreal with important despatches from the home government and from the Governor General of Canada. Among those papers were commissions of promotion, as rewards, for several of the officers and men who had faithfully discharged their duties in the erection of the new Fort. Of those thus rewarded by the King, Major Makarty was advanced to the rank of Colonel, and Lieutenant Saucier to that of Captain.

English emissaries were soon busy among the Indians all through the west attempting to win them over to their cause. And by liberal presents, more liberal promises, and misrepresentations, were successful in seducing several of the tribes from their allegiance to, and friendship for, the French. This change of policy by the savages caused much uneasiness and some trouble at Fort Chartres. A British invasion was among the possibilities expected; but no immediate danger of a general uprising of Illinois Indians was apprehended. Yet, the scattered settlements required protection, particularly from threatened inroads of the Chickasaws about the mouth of the Ohio river. Companies were detailed for police duty to different points, and frequent excursions were made in the interior of the country by detachments of soldiers to punish marauding bands of Indians. Chevalier de Volsci and his men having been ordered to Canada, Major Makarty sent Capt. Saucier to take command of the fort at Cahokia. This stockade was situated near the center of the village just across the road from the church, and was spacious enough to contain the entire population of the town in case resort to it for protection was at any time necessary.† Captain Saucier was quite

* *Montcalm and Wolf.* By Francis Parkman. Vol. 1. pp. 147-161.

† In the course of certain improvements on the old Jarnot place in Cahokia, made in 1890 by Nicholas McCracken, the proprietor, there was dug up part of a large mulberry post, much decayed, believed to have been one of the gate posts of the fort, planted there 150 years before.

a favorite among the Cahokians; and while commanding there was very successful, not in fighting the discontented Indians, but in pacifying them and regaining their friendship.

When spring returned peace prevailed throughout the Illinois, and the scattered soldiers were recalled to the Fort. The tribes in upper Louisiana; or, more properly, along the Mississippi river below the Ohio, however, were reported to have joined the English—as all the eastern colonists were called—, and were harassing the whites engaged in navigation of the river. One of the first pirogues enroute for New Orleans was captured by them, and its crew were all slain.

The time had again arrived for dispatching the boats to New Orleans for the garrison's annual supplies. In the then hostile attitude of the southern Indians, it was necessary to select for this service men of tried courage and endurance, and a commander of prudence, firmness and experience. Besides the supplies that might be drawn from the Quartermaster's and Commissary's departments in New Orleans, it would be necessary to purchase considerable quantities of stores there for the troops at the Fort. There were also expected at New Orleans important despatches, and a large sum of money, from France, for the Commandant, and Paymaster at the Fort; and it was very desirable that all these valuables should be brought up the river in safety.

After pondering the matter over for sometime, Col. Makarty sent for Captain Saucier, and asked him if he would undertake the management of the voyage, stating that he would not detail him for that service if he preferred not to go; but that he would regard it a personal favor if he would accept the perilous office. The Captain answered, without hesitation, that he was one of the King's soldiers, ready at any time to go wherever required, and this duty would suit him as well as any.

The late spring rains had long since ceased. The waters had receded from the low, overflowed lands, to the lowest level of their accustomed channels. The sandbars had reappeared with barren prominence above the river's surface, when Capt. Saucier repaired to Kaskaskia, and put his fleet of boats in readiness, as before. He was fortunate in finding the best men of his former crews, whom he engaged; and taking from the Fort a few of the most reliable enlisted men who were with him on his former voyage, he once more bid adieu to the Illinois, and set his flotilla in the current of the great river. He again took his departure when the young moon was a silvered crescent about to drop into the dark western forest; choosing this phase of that orb for leaving, not from superstitious notions; but because he would have light at night for some time, enabling him to continue his course with the least possible delays.

At only two points on the river were hostile demonstrations made by the Indians, and these he repulsed without trouble, being constantly on his guard. By the exercise of cool judgment and careful management he reached his destination in comparatively a short time, without casualties, or encountering extraordinary hardships.

CHAPTER XI.

In New Orleans Again.

Thirty-seven years had passed since the first settlement was made at New Orleans by Bienville; and it was already a pretentious town*, the metropolis of all the vast territory claimed by the French Crown from the Gulf to the great northern lakes; and the commercial and military gateway to all that region. The primitive architecture of the place gave it the appearance of an irregular collection of huts with streaks of mud for streets. Yet, that early, much wealth was concentrated there, which —as in older communities—had the effect of creating social distinctions among its people. Squalor and poverty were conspicuous in some quarters of the place, while in others Parisian opulence and splendor, and Parisian styles and fashions were lavishly displayed. An aristocratic class had been fostered there by the late Governor of Louisiana, Pierre de Regaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, who, a short time before, was transferred to Quebec as Governor General of Canada, superceding there M. de Gallisoniere. De Vaudreuil's pomp and state; his sumptuous style of living, punctilious etiquette and courtly manners, which found many servile imitators, caused his official residence, or chateau, on Rue Ponchartrain, to be named by the populace "Le Petite Versailles". The shipping interests of the town were represented by large and commodious warehouses, and the many gay shops and elegant stores gave evidence of commercial prosperity. The Jesuits were there, of course, since 1727; but the only edifices yet erected by the church were the Ursuline Convent, Hospital, and Chapel. New Orleans was made the capital of Louisiana in 1721. On going ashore from his boat, near the spot where the Captain had met Monsieur Brusier when last here, the memory of that gentleman's doleful story was revived, with the wretched dispiriting effect he had experienced when listening to it. A feeling of extreme misery crept over him as he reviewed the cruel fate of those he loved, his blighted hopes, and lonely life. The vision of two angelic young creatures, now still in death, whose love had illumined his soul and lent a charm to existence, arising before him, with the shades of his revered father and foster parents beyond—all now gone forever—almost overpowered him with a sense of heart-rending despondency. Philosophy, however, came to his rescue. It argued to him that nothing could be gained by repining and brooding over ill-fortune. The dead were beyond his reach, the living had claims upon him, and he was yet young enough to dispel the incubus of grief, and to benefit humanity and his country. Rallying all the strength of his resolute mind, he determined to hide his sorrows in the recesses of his own thoughts, and act to the best of his abilities, the part assigned him in the world's affairs.

To further this resolve, he concluded no longer to mope in seclusion; but to reenter society, and seek forgetfulness in its pastimes and frivolities. This course, he correctly judged, would be the most effective to banish melancholy. Social gaieties and amusements in New Orleans were not, in that era, restricted to certain seasons. There was then no

* By the close of the year 1752, forty-five brick houses had been built in New Orleans. Gayarre's *History of Louisiana.*

hegira of the favored class to northern watering places, or seaside resorts, during the heated term; but pleasure there, considered—next to obtaining the necessities of life—the chief duty of existence, its pursuit, in feasting, dancing and visiting, was always in order from one Christmas to another.

The Captain's presence in town was soon generally known, and but little time was left him to feel lonely. His military rank, his youth, manly figure and handsome features, with his gentlemanly bearing and manners, made him a desirable acquaintance; and the knowledge that he was an accredited government agent disbursing large sums of money for military supplies, gave him ready admission into the highest circles of society, in which he soon became conspicuous. He was lionized by the wealthy mercenary traders, by the educated and refined, and also by shrewd mothers having marriageable daughters. By accepting pressing invitations from all quarters, he was quickly inducted to the whirlpool of social entertainments, and was in a short time, one of society's chief attractions. He was a graceful dancer and interesting talker, and ever ready to take part in current amusements; but detested the coarse revelry and dissipation of the barracks and messroom.

Among the wholesale dealers and importers whose stocks of goods he inspected preliminary to making his purchases, was a merchant named Antoine Delorme, one of the wealthiest citizens of the town, a leader in its business circles, and an affable, hospitable gentleman. His residence on Rue Ponchartrain, in what was then known as the aristocratic quarter, was exteriorly plain, but large, roomy, and furnished interiorly with taste and munificence. Patterned after the gaudy mansion of the former Governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, it had all the appointments and accessories of luxurious comfort that wealth could provide, including a retinue of negro slaves perfectly trained for personal and domestic service.

Monsieur Delorme's family comprised only his wife and daughter, at home. Another daughter, who was married, resided in France, and a son, also married, was the principal merchant and shipowner in St. Pierre, on the island of Martinique. Madam Delorme was, in many respects, the antithesis of her husband. He had married her when both were young and poor, from a social stratum below that to which his parents belonged. She was a peasant's daughter, coarse, illiterate, and a stranger to the usages of refined society in which he had been nurtured. But she was a pretty girl, strong, healthy, industrious, and a shrewd, economical household manager. She had proven an efficient coadjutor in the accumulation of his large fortune, a true wife and exemplary mother. Advancing age had wrought serious changes in her girlish figure and rustic beauty; and her altered station in life had developed the, too common, arrogance and foolish vanity of riches displayed by vulgar people becoming wealthy. She was corpulent, florid and broad-faced, and spoke very ungrammatically; but dressed in fine, showy clothes made in the height of fashion, that illy became her rotund form, and wore a profusion of flashy, costly jewelry. Coming, as she had, from the mudsills of society, she seemed to have forgotten her early hardships and privations, and now looked down upon the plebeians with uncharitable contempt.

Her daughter, Mam'selle Rosealie, the youngest of her children, was reared in luxury and indolence, receiving considerable polish—if not much erudition—in a French convent in Paris. Her face was pretty but wanting in expression. With a tendency to obesity, she had inherited none of her mother's former energy and force, but all of her mother's later weakness for fine raiment and sparkling ornaments. She was blessed with an easy, good-natured disposition and pleasant voice; was a fair musician, a voluble talker and fine entertainer. To secure for this girl a husband of wealth, or rank—both preferably—was now the object for which Madame Delorme lived. No means were spared in making her salons attractive, and eclipsing all others in the sumptuousness and brilliancy of her entertainments, not excepting those of the late Governor De Vaudreuil. Her balls and dinners were grand, and her musicales and garden dejeuners superb.

Captain Saucier was not wealthy; but for business reasons, and because of his official position in the King's service, he soon became a frequent and welcome guest at the Delorme mansion. He was among the first invited to the Madame's fetes and parties, and was always graciously received when he dropped in, informally, to pass an hour in pleasant chat with Mlle. Rosealie.

CHAPTER XII.

The Mysterious Woman in Black.

A month had passed since the Captain's arrival at New Orleans, in which he had been busily employed every business hour each day. He had made all his purchases, but was still detained awaiting the expected despatches from France. Time however did not hang heavily on his hands. He had formed many agreeable acquaintances who extended to him the cordial hospitality of their homes, and vied with each other in their efforts to enchance the pleasures of his visit. He received flattering attentions in these charmed and charming circles, from the ladies particularly, who allowed him but little opportunity for serious retrospective reflection, and impressed upon him the axiom that life is for the living and should be enjoyed while it lasts.

Calling one morning before the sun's rays became oppressive, at the Delorme mansion, his knock at the door was answered, as usual, by a colored servant who ushered him into the small parlor, or drawing room, and then went to apprise her young mistress of his presence. As he entered the room he casually glanced through the open folding doors into the adjoining room and saw there a woman, apparently young, sitting in a large alcove engaged in sewing. Her hands, he saw, were white; but he did not see her face. She arose on his entrance into the parlor, and gathering up her work basket and the material upon which she was plying her needle, left the apartment without so much as glancing in his direction. He saw, as she flitted out of the room like a shadow, that her tall, well-molded form was plainly but neatly dressed in black. As Mlle. Rosealie directly made her appearance, the woman in black passed out of his mind, and the pampered daughter of fortune amused and interested him for a time with her vivacious conversation and music.

The climate at New Orleans has not materially changed since the administration of affairs there by the "Grand Marquis" Vaudreuil, a

century and a half ago. In the late summer the nights and mornings are pleasantly cool, with uncomfortable heat during the middle part of the day. In the olden days, however, the rush and bustle of business of the present time were unknown there, and through the heated hours business pursuits and pleasure-seeking were suspended until a fall of temperature in the evening.

A few days after the Captain's last morning call at the Delorme abode, he was again there one evening with a gay party of young gentlemen and ladies, who had met him on the street, and prevailed upon him to accompany them. Such impromptu gatherings of young society people were then of almost daily occurrence, and always highly enjoyed by hostess and guests alike. While the Captain was recounting to a group of girls some of his experiences in Kaskaskia and Cahokia society he chanced to look, from the piazza where he sat, towards the flower garden, and saw the same figure in black he had seen a few mornings before sewing in the alcove, enter the garden from the street, by a side gate, and passing through the shrubbery and flowers, disappear beyond the rear angle of the building. She wore, as before, a plain, neatly-fitting, black dress and her head was covered by a sunbonnet that concealed her face. He looked at the retreating woman as long as she was in view, though she seemed, from her garb, to occupy no higher station than that of an upper menial—a hired seamstress perhaps—and of no consequence. It may have been the striking contrast she presented to Mlle. Rosealie, in the perfect symmetry of her form and her graceful movements, that attracted his attention and curiously interested him. On two or three other occasions when at the Delorme mansion he again caught glimpses of that mysterious retiring young woman in the distance; and though he strove to dismiss her from his mind, as one in whom he was in no manner concerned, she strangely impressed him, and he found it difficult to suppress the desire to learn who she was.

The long looked for ship from France at length arrived, bringing the expected despatches and mails. The Captain, much relieved, now began earnestly to complete his final preparations for his long and trying return voyage. Early and late he was in the large Delorme warehouse, where his goods were stored, superintending and directing the assorting and transferring of bales, boxes, and casks to the boats, and seeing to arranging them there securely and compactly.

Coming into the spacious building on the first morning, to hurry forward this work, he was hailed by old Michael Mallait, the clerk and guardian genius of this department of the Delorme establishment who had been in the Delorme service since its commencement, with this cheery greeting:

"Ah! bon jour; bon jour; Monsieur le Capitaine. You are quite well, I am happy to see. And, so, you are going to leave us, eh?"

"Yes, Uncle Michael; I expect to bid New Orleans a long, and perhaps last, farewell, on next Monday morning, Dieu volante," said the Captain.

"Ah! mon cher fils", continued the old man, "we will all miss you very much when you are gone; and you don't know the devastation your departure will cause here."

"You are surely jesting, my friend; for what calamity can my leaving occasion?"

"Broken hearts among the demoiselles, of course," answered the old man, with a knowing smile; and then added; "I don't know how they will manage to get along without you in their fine balls and parties. And Mam'selle Rosealie, poor thing! will be inconsolable in your absence".

"Bah!" retorted the Captain, with some impatience, "she will very soon forget that I was ever here." This allusion to Rosealie reminded him of the plainly-attired young woman he had now and then seen about the Delorme premises, and seeing no impropriety in interrogating him about her, he asked, "Now that I think of it, mon oncle; can you tell me who that strange young woman is, of whom I have sometimes caught sight, up at the mansion?"

"No, I cannot; only this of her have I learned, that she has but recently arrived here—since you came—, from France, I think, and that she is a distant relative of Delorme's, an orphan, destitute, and trying to support herself with her needle. I have heard her name, but cannot now recall it. Of course she is not admitted into Mam'selle Rosealie's set."

Their conversation then turned on business affairs and each was soon engrossed in matters that concerned him most, and which gave them ample occupation for the balance of the day. This routine work continued until Saturday evening, when the Captain had everything in readiness to start away the next evening, or on Monday morning. His boats were all in first class condition, each with its cargo in place; his arms and ammunition carefully inspected; his bills all settled, and his men at their respective posts ready for duty. He would have given the order to shove off that evening, but for the conscientious scruples of the men, who could not agree to embark on such a perilous journey without first attending mass, and receiving absolution from the priest, on the Sabbath.

The Captain had a snug little cabin fitted up in his boat, walled around with bales and boxes, and covered with tarpaulin. At either end was a small window looking fore and aft, a carpet covered the floor, and a cosey bunk and a couple of chairs imparted to it an air of home-like comfort. The termination of his stay in New Orleans had arrived. He had paid all of his farewell visits, and bid adieu to all his social and business acquaintances including the Governor and military officers, then gladly left his quarters in the town, and took possession of his cabin and boat, prepared for the arduous task before him.

After retiring for the night he reviewed the time he had just passed in New Orleans; the mission he had successfully accomplished, interspersed and varied, as it had been, with many pleasant episodes, with courtesies, and the respect and kindness accorded him by his many new acquaintances, and many charming ladies. All this was gratifying to his self-esteem. He found that he had gained much of his former cheerfulness and interest in life, and ambition for an honorable career. He fell asleep congratulating himself that he had overcome the poignancy of grief without impairment of his loyalty to the memory of the dead, successfully resisting the arts and blandishments of the city beauties.

CHAPTER XIII.

A Miraculous Escape From Death.

The golden light of the Sabbath dawn shone resplendent in the east beyond Lake Borgne, and as the sun arose above the horizon, the curtain of fog, settled on the bosom of the great river during the night, was slowly furled and floated away.

From force of habit, observed in camp, at the Fort, and on the march, the Captain arose at the reveille hour. His daily practice while sojourning in the town was to be up before the rising of the sun, and take long walks before breakfast, for exercise. Sometimes he strolled along the levee above the river bank; or out to the lakes; then again, he walked through the noisy and odorous markets; or by the slumbering residences and perfume-ladened flower gardens in the opulent quarter; or among the lowly huts of the poor classes.

On this refreshing Sunday morning, seeing that everything about the boats was quiet and in order, he took his course to the old Place d' Armes, and then into the deserted streets, with no aim in view but to look for the last time on some of the objects and localities he had become familiar with. His unrestrained thoughts dwelled upon the possibilities and probabilities of his voyage; then wandered to the more serious problem of impending war with the English; mentally discussing its consequences in the Illinois, and its ultimate results, and how it would affect his individual plans and aspirations, and in what way he might best serve his King and country, and at the same time promote his own interests.

He walked on slowly, in deep reverie, heedless of his course; past the silent rows of closed shops and stores, and on through the little park, or commons, then towards the Ursuline Convent and Chapel, seeing no one astir but the devout few on their way to the Chapel to attend *la bas messe,* or matin services. Arousing himself from his meditations to take his bearings and see where he had wandered to, he noted that he was then passing the Chapel into which a few shuffling old people and young girls were noiselessly creeping, like straggling bees into a hive. He stopped, and concluded to retrace his steps, and regain the river and his boats by the most direct route. He walked back a short distance, but a sudden impulse caused him to again turn and continue in the direction he had been walking, as by that course he could, with a few detours, reach the boat landing without much loss of time or distance. Going on he passed by some of the better class residences where he had been, in the last few weeks, royally entertained; and, for a moment felt a pang of regret in exchanging those generous luxuries for the rough fare of the river and camp.

A little farther on he came in sight of the well-known gables and piazzas, and spacious grounds, of the Delorme mansion now wrapped in the stillness of profound repose. As he proceeded toward the house, along the apology for a sidewalk, the side gate of the flower garden next to the street suddenly opened, and the black-garbed figure of the young woman he had occasionally seen about the mansion, emerged, with rosary and prayer book in hand, and head bowed in devotional attitude, evi-

dently on her way to matin worship at the Chapel. She came on toward him with downcast eyes, walking slowly, as though in deep thought, or burdened with some secret sorrow. Though penniless and alone in the world, and consigned by fate to a life of toil and obscurity, as old Michael Mallait represented her, she moved with grace and dignity strangely at variance with her lowly station.

As they approached each other on the narrow walk, she raised her eyes slightly as he was about to step aside to let her pass by. His gaze was fixed upon her, and as she momentarily looked up he saw her face for the first time. Starting back in bewildered amazement, he exclaimed "Merciful God! Can this be but a mocking dream! Pardon me, Madame, will you please tell me who you are? " She did not faint or scream; but stood—like a statue—transfixed with surprise. The color left her cheeks for a moment, but regaining her presence of mind she answered firmly, "My name is Adel Lepage."

"Adel Lepage!", he repeated, with agitation; "But Monsieur Brusier told me that my—that is—I mean—the Adel Lepage whom I knew in France, died of the plague aboard the ship, L'Etoile du Nord, at sea."

"I escaped death almost by a miracle", said she; but, pray sir, who are you?"

"I am Jean Baptiste Saucier", answered the Captain, as he clasped the astonished girl in his arms.

"Oh! Jean Baptiste", she cried half incredulously, "can it be possible that it is really you? They told us you were killed by the savages, and my poor parents and myself mourned for you with bleeding hearts."

He turned and walked with her in the direction of the Chapel; but so intent were they with mutual explanations of causes why they were not dead, and accounts of events transpiring in their lives since they had seen each other last, they passed the Chapel without seeing it, and proceeding to the Convent lawn sat down on one of the rustic seats there, and continued their animated conversation perfectly oblivious to all surroundings.

"Did you", she asked, "receive my letter giving you an account of your father's death, and of my father's conclusion to emigrate to New France?"

"Yes", he answered sadly, "and that was the last letter I received from you. You perhaps forgot to write to me again."

"Oh! Jean Baptiste, how can you say that?", she said reproachfully, and her eyes became suffused with tears. "I will tell you why I did not write to you again" she continued: "You no doubt remember Jo. Michot?"

"I do, indeed", said the Captain; "and I will hardly ever forget—nor do I think he will—the thrashing I gave him, when we were at school at Lachappelle, one recess, for meanly kicking over our dinner basket."

"Well", continued Adel, "he annoyed me very much by his persistent attentions, after you left home, and asked me to marry him. I, of course, refused; for I always cordially detested him. It was just after

your father's death—a few days after I had written to you of it—and we were preparing to start to America, that he brought the intelligence from Orleans that you had been slain in battle with the Indians. From the accounts you had written us of those terrible savages, I believed the sad news he brought was true. He then told me I need not go to America to look for you, as you were dead; and I might as well marry him and remain in France. This not only pained, but infuriated me, and I replied that I was anxious to go to New France, and would go there, or anywhere else, if for no other reason than that I might be where I would never see, or hear of him again."

"Mille Tonnerre!", interrupted the Captain vehemently, "I wish the lying poltroon was here now, so that I could show him whether I am dead, or not."

"So then", continued Adel, "Monsieur Isidore Brusier told you all about the awful misfortunes that befel us on the ocean. Oh! it was dreadful beyond any human power of description. In an hour or two after I was attacked by the plague I lost all consciousness, and only know what followed by having been told of it by others. All were satisfied I was dying when Monsieur Brusier was stricken down, and they made preparations to throw me into the sea to follow my poor father and mother and the others who had died. And two or three times again it was thought I had breathed my last; but when the unfortunate ship next morning, cast its anchor in the Bay of St. Pierre, in the island of Martinique, I was still alive. All on board, sick and well, were immediately sent ashore.

"Monsieur Brusier's brother, who escaped the scourge, and who had cared for him every moment of his sickness, employed natives at once to carry the sick man to the northern part of the island, so as to be near relatives of theirs at Fort Royale. The other sick persons, who had friends or relatives with them, were also carried away to the hills as soon as possible; but I, having no one left to care for me, was taken on shore and placed in a vacant native hut under the palms, with no thought that I could survive many hours—or minutes, perhaps. The arrival of our vessel, and its disastrous voyage, were soon known in St. Pierre, and the citizen there lost no time in offering such relief as was in their power.

"Augustine Delorme, son of M. Antoine Delorme of this place, the wealthiest merchant in St. Pierre, and himself a shipowner, and whose grandmother was a Lepage, on learning from our ship's register my name, and my parent's names, as passengers, from near Orleans, thought we might be relatives of his, and sent an agent to the ship right away to enquire about us. On learning the facts he came himself immediately with a lot of servants, and caused me to be placed in a covered litter, or palanquin, and conveyed, by relays of carriers, to his summer house upon the mountain side. There a corps of physicians and nurses, superintended by Monsieur Augustine's good wife, bravely contended with the horrid disease that was consuming me, for many days, and finally triumphed."

CHAPTER XIV.

Marriage of Captain Saucier.

"I told them my story", continued Adel, "when sufficiently recovered to be able to talk, and when able to sit up my newly found relatives removed me to their home in St. Pierre, and installed me there as one of their family. I there did all I could for them to repay their great benevolence, by such services as I could render; and, while there, learned to be quite an expert dressmaker. Though every comfort was at my command, and every want gratified, I could not avoid the feeling that I was a dependent and object of charity. I begged M. Augustine to permit me to come to this town on one of his ships, where I might find better opportunities to earn my support. They all tried to dissuade me from the view I had taken and the purpose I had formed, and implored me to remain with them. It must have been some destiny impelling me, for I could not resist the constant impulse to come here.

"With reluctance and regrets, they at length consented; but only on my promise to go directly to M. Antoine Delorme's house, and make it my future home, and if I was disappointed in my expectations here to return immediately to them.

"I arrived here four weeks ago, and found the Delorme mansion a very pleasant home, and have been treated very kindly. I soon discovered, however, that my place there was that of a poor, dependent relation, and that I was expected not to transgress its bounds by intruding myself into Mam'selle Rosealie's circle.

"This situation has its twinge of humiliation; but not of hardship; for society has no allurements for me, and I long only for the quietude of obscure retirement—that Madame Delorme and Mam'selle Rosealie seem quite willing for me to enjoy. I have though, without consulting them, made arrangements to leave the mansion tomorrow morning, and commence work in Madame Durand's dressmaking and millinery establishment, on Rue St. Charles, where I can earn good wages and be measurably independent."

The Captain listened to this recital with deep interest, and to some of its passages, with illy-suppressed emotions. He then told her of Fort de Chartres and the country in which it was located; of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and of the people who lived there. He told her of his life at the Fort, and of his former voyage down the river, and the great joy he anticipated in meeting her and her parents in New Orleans, and of his plans for their future settlement in the colonies near the Fort. He recounted his eager watching for the arrival of their ship, and of his heart-rending disappointment and grief when he met Monsieur Brusier, and heard from him the terrible reality, with assurance of her death also. He then informed her of his present mission to New Orleans, its objects accomplished, and his arrangements all perfected for starting that evening, or early the next morning, on his return, not omitting a description of the perils and hardships of the voyage. Then taking her hand in both of his, he said, "Adel, will you be my wife, and go with me?"

She raised her eyes to his, beaming with joyous confidence, as she answered unhesitatingly: "Yes, Jean Baptiste, I will; and will go with you anywhere."

They again met early next morning at the Ursuline Chapel, and knelt together at the altar. The officiating priest, informed of the Captain's situation, dispensed with the Church's rule in ordinary marriages, of publishing the bans from the altar for three consecutive Sundays, and proceeded to solemnly pronounce the ceremony that made them man and wife.

The only witnesses present were old Michael Mallait and Monsieur Delorme; Madame Delorme and Mam'selle Rosealie, if invited, did not deign to even send their regrets, much less to offer either reception or wedding feast for the young couple. An hour later the boats were moving up stream, with Adel as mistress of the Captain's cabin, enroute to a new, strange world to found a new home under novel auspices.

Their progress up the tortuous river was laborious, and not altogether free from exciting adventures and narrowly averted dangers; but in due time; all arrived safely at the Fort.

New Chartres, the town near the entrance to the Fort, so named in contradistinction to Old Chartres, near the gate of the old fort below, had grown to respectable dimensions. Commencing with temporary habitations of artisans and laborers, it had absorbed the population of the old town, and the greater part of that of St. Philip.* Several traders settled in it and some of the officers and soldiers of the garrison having families resided in the village in preference to the restricted limits within the walls. A beautiful lawnlike esplanade, or drill ground, of twenty acres, laid between the great gate and the town. We can well imagine the maneuvers here of grenadiers, in pleasant weather, viewed with patriotic pride, by the officers and their friends, from the large stone platform surmounting the carved arch of the principal gate. Captain Saucier's cottage was the newest and neatest in the village "officers row," its attractiveness and embellishments due to the taste and industry of his handsome wife. As a token of his special regard for the Captain, Chevalier Makarty transferred Lisette to Adel, for whom she formed an attachment at their first meeting; and the true, worthy servant remained in the Captain's household, through its fortunes, the rest of her days.

For several years after his marriage Capt. Saucier remained steadily on duty at the Fort superintending the work of the builders, until, at last, in 1763, the great structure was almost completed. The broad stone platform over the fine arch of the main gate was placed in position; and also the stone stair case and balustrade leading up to it. The

* "On the first-named grant, Renault established a little village, and as is the fashion in more modern times, honored it by his own baptismal name—St. Philip. It was on the rich alluvion and had its common field there, the allotments made by himself and within five miles of Fort Chartres, then just erected on a small scale, and with no view of durability or strength; within its shade grew up 'Chartres Village' as it was called, with its 'common field' also, and 'commons' embracing a large scope of the unappropriated domain, and with a chapel served by a Franciscan friar and dedicated to St. Anne. Not a vestage of these two villages now remain, save some asparagus yearly putting forth its slender stems upon the open prairie."—*The Early History of Illinois.* By Sidney Breese, Chicago, 1884, pp. 177-178.

cannon,* bearing on their surface, the monogram and arms of Louis XIV, were mounted in the bastions, and the buildings and arched magazine within the huge walls were all nearly finished. On the low swampy bank of the Mississippi river, in the far western wilderness, it stood, a marvel of engineering skill and labor, the grandest and strongest fortress in America.

CHAPTER XV.

Surrender of Fort Chartres to the English.

Fort Chartres was the depot of arms and munitions, and the seat of military power for all the vast region from New Orleans to Montreal west of the Alleghanies, as France then, claimed the entire Mississippi valley. England's rapidly increasing colonies on the Atlantic seaboard however passed the mountain barrier, and were overrunning the territory claimed by France north of the Ohio river. Their aggressions brought on local conflicts which, in 1755, resulted in war between the two nations. Braddock that year marched on Fort Du Quesne and was defeated. In 1756, the English General, Forbes, with 7,000 men, retrieved Braddock's disaster and compelled the French to evacuate Fort Du Quesne, where all the garrison of Fort Chartres, but one company, had been drawn. It was now plain that the empire of France in America was tottering to its fall. It was too extensive to be successfully defended at all points from onslaughts of such a foe. For three years more the unequal contest continued, when it was practically terminated by the English victory on the Plains of Abraham, and fall of Quebec, on the 13th of September, 1759. The boldness and sagacity of Pontiac, the friend and ally of the French, however, prevented the victorious English from taking possession of the Illinois until six years later.

The reverses of the French arms were severely felt at Fort Chartres, and throughout the settlements on the Mississippi, though they were not in the theatre of the war. The Fort had been rebuilt at immense expense of treasure and labor, designed to be a permanent bulwark for the French possessions in the Mississippi Valley. Yet, it was not completely finished when the fall of Canada clearly presaged its doom.

In 1761, Col. Makarty was, by his own request, ordered back to France, and Capt. Neyon de Villiers, who, of seven brothers in the military service of the King in America, was the only survivor, the other six having been killed in defense of Canada, succeeded him in command at the Fort. The retiring veteran, upon taking his departure, bid farewell, with touching sadness, to the officers and men, to the colonists who

* The cannon, five in number, were taken from the ruins of Fort Chartres, in 1812, by Gov. Ninian Edwards and mounted on his Fort Russell, a mile and a half from the present city of Edwardsville. One of them was bursted when firing in celebration of Gen'l. Jackson's victory at New Orleans, in January, 1815. Of the other four no trace can be found. Of the aspect of Fort Chartres, when he visited it in 1802, Gov. Reynolds says; "It was an object of anti-quarian curiosity. The trees, undergrowth, and brush are mixed and interwoven with the old walls. It presented the most striking contrast between a savage wilderness; filled with wild beasts and reptiles, and the remains of one of the largest and strongest fortifications on the continent." He visited it again in 1854, and found "Fort Chartres a pile of mouldering ruins, and the walls torn away almost even with the surface." At present nothing of the great structure remains but one angle of the wall a few feet in height, and the magazine."

revered him, to the splendid citadel he erected, and to the grave of his idolized daughter. When he parted with Capt. Saucier, who accompanied him from France, and had for a decade been intimately associated with him in all the affairs of the Fort, and had shown his daughter such tender attentions, his iron firmness failed, and tears coursed down his bronzed cheeks as he flung himself into his boat and left the Illinois for ever.

When the weak and corrupt King of France, having secretly transferred Florida, New Orleans and all the territory west of the Mississippi, to Spain, purchased peace with England by ceding to her all the balance of his possessions in America, in 1763, the settlers in the Illinois district were overwhelmed with surprise and mortification. Disgusted and heartbroken. Captain de Villiers abandoned Fort Chartres and went to New Orleans. Captain Saucier, not wishing to return to France, and seeing his military career in America terminated, handed de Villiers his resignation from the army and took up his abode in Cahokia. The veteran Commandant, Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, who many years before commanded the old stockade Fort Chartres, now came from Vincennes, with forty men, and assumed command of the grand new Fort, only to formally surrender it, on the 10th of October, 1765, to Captain Sterling, of the 42d Highlanders, much to the chagrin and deep disgust of Pontiac and his braves, and to all the French colonists. To the lasting disgrace and humiliation of France her lillies were hauled down from the bastion staff and replaced by the detested flag of Great Britain. Fort Chartres was the last place on the continent of North America to float the French flag. St. Ange de Bellerive, unwilling to live under English rule, after the surrender embarked with his handful of men, at the Fort landing and proceeded up the river to St. Louis, which he thought was yet in French territory, and assumed command of that post. New Chartres was speedily deserted; several of its inhabitants following St. Ange to St. Louis, and the balance scattering out in the neighboring settlements.

Captain Saucier and wife, enamored with the country and people, upon his resignation left New Chartres and purchased an elegant home in Cahokia, where they were accorded the highest respect and consideration by the entire community. The feeble exhibition of authority by the new rulers of the Illinois effected no perceptible change in the old regime, and the peaceful habitants were soon reconciled to the new dynasty. Cahokia continued to flourish and grow in importance. Captain Saucier engaged actively in business pursuits and prospered; and was a patriotic citizen of the United States for many years after George Rogers Clark, on the night of the 4th of July, 1778, tore down the odious banner of St. George at Kaskaskia, and planted in its stead—for all future time—the ensign of political freedom.

Owing to the loss of the Cahokia parish records—in the confusion of removing the Church property to a place of safety during the disastrous overflow of the Mississippi, in 1844—it is now not known when Capt. Saucier and his wife died. But it is known that they were buried, side by side, in the little graveyard adjoining the old Cahokia Church, and that their dust still reposes there with that of several generations of the early French pioneers of the Illinois.

GENEALOGICAL.

The marriage of Capt. John B. Saucier and Adelaide Lepage was blessed by the advent of three children, in the following order:* Baptiste Saucier, Matthieu Saucier, Francois Saucier.

Baptiste Saucier and Marie Josephine Belcour were married, in Cahokia, in the year 1778. Of the three children born to them, Adelaide Saucier and Matthieu Saucier survived; a younger son, John Baptiste Saucier, died when a grown young man.

The daughter, Adelaide, married, in 1799, a young Frenchman named Jean Francois Perry, from the vicinity of Lyons, in France; and of their four daughters, three survived, named Louise Perry, Adelaide Perry, Harriet Perry.

Adelaide Perry, married on the 18th of October, 1820, at Cahokia, a young man from Fayette County, Pennsylvania, named Adam Wilson Snyder; and of several children born to them, three sons survived, named William Henry Snyder, Frederick Adam Snyder, John Francis Snyder.

APPENDIX.

Note A.

During the early agitation for revision of the Dreyfus trial, in 1897, frequent mention was made in public prints of "General Saussier, Military Governor of Paris". In the press despatches from Paris there appeared this paragraph: "Paris, January 16, 1898. One hundred and twenty-six patriotic and military Societies held a demonstration today in the Place Vendome in honor of General Gustave Saussier, Commander-in-Chief of the French Army, and Military Governor of Paris, who now retires under the age limit."

The announcement of his death, in 1905, was cabled to this country as follows:

Paris, Dec. 20.—General Felix Gustave Saussier, former commander-in-chief of the French army, died today. He was one of the best known and bravest officers in France. In the battles around Metz a quarter of a century ago he distinguished himself most signally. The famous infantry charge at St. Privat, which practically barred the progress of the Germans on that side, was led by him. Saussier was one of the officers who signed the protest against the surrender of Metz. General Saussier also served in Italy, Mexico and the Crimea. He was a deputy for some time and in 1873 distinguished himself in the discussions on the reorganization of the army.

Note B.

In the confusion incident to removing the church property to a place of safety during the great overflow of the Mississippi in 1844, the parish records of Cahokia were lost. Fortunately, at some time prior

* *Pioneer History of Illinois.* By John Reynolds. Second (or Fergus) edition, Chicago, 1887, pp. 286 to 291.
See also *Adam W. Snyder and his Period in Illinois History, 1817-1842.* By Dr. J. F. Snyder, Virginia, Illinois, 1906.

to 1844, Mr. Oscar W. Collet, of St. Louis, copied the Cahokia register of marriages, which copy was discovered, nearly half a century later, in the St. Louis University. It is, however, quite defective, having many errors and omissions. The parochial records of Kaskaskia and St. Anne, still preserved, are also very defective, with errors, omissions, and important parts entirely missing. Hence the difficulty, or impossibility, of tracing the family history, or personal identity, of many citizens of French descent who were prominent in the first settling of Illinois. Tho some of them were well educated, they left no written records of themselves or their times. For these reasons there is today much uncertainty regarding the earlier members of the Saucier family in America, several of whom were noted among the pioneers from Canada to Louisiana.

The following brief references—comprising in great part the present knowledge of them—are copied, by permission, from the "Saucier Papers" of Judge Walter B. Douglas, of St. Louis:

Louis Saucier, (son of Charles Saucier and Charlotte Clairet, of St. Eustache, Paris), married, at Quebec, Canada, Margueritte Gailliard *dit* Duplessis, on the 12th of January, 1671. They had two children, Charles and Jean.

Charles, baptised Sept. 1st, 1672, married, 1st, Marie Anne Bisson, 2d, Marie Madeline St. Dennis,, and, 3d, Marie Francois Lebel, and had four children.

Jean, baptised Dec. 4th, 1674,—further history not given.*

One Jean Saucier was an early inhabitant of Louisiana, as appears in the census of 1706, towit, "Jean Saucier, a wife and two children."† In Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile,* p. 80, his name is given as J. B. Saucier, his wife was Gabrielle Savary, and his occupation a "Marchand."

In the same book "Madame Socie" is mentioned, p. 151, as a land owner in Mobile in 1760. On page 192 it is stated, "of other officials, we know Fr. Saucier as sub engineer in 1751."

When New Orleans was settled, in 1722, some of the family removed there, as in the list of first grantees of lots is the name "Sautier" as a grantee of lot 144.

"Le 24 x bre (24th of October), 1739, Mr. Sauzier, ingenieur, est party avec un detachment d' Arcanzas et quelques Canadiens a dessin de charcher le chemin par on Mr. d'Artaguet avoir este aux Chics."‡

The place from which he departed was Bienville's camp near the present site of Memphis.

In the Kaskaskia parochial register, "Saucier" signs as a witness to a marriage, on the 20th August, 1742. In same, under date of July, 1761, is this entry, "Marie Jeanne Fontaile, widow of Francois Saucier, lieutenant refonné (half pay) and inginieur pour le Roy at Fort Chartres, married Alexander du Clos. In March, 1788, she was married, for the third time, to Jean du Martin, a native of Ax, in Gascony. She is described in the last entry as "Marie Jeanne Saucier, widow of the deceased Alexander du Clos."

* Tanguay's *Dictionaire Genealogique des Famille Canadienes.*
† Fortier's *History of Louisiana,* p. 52.
‡ Journal de la Guerre du Mississippi en 1739 et fini en 1740 le ler d'avril. Par un officier de l'Armer de M. de Nouaille. N. Y. Shea. 1859.

Jauvier 7, 1761, Monsieur Saucier fils signs as a marriage witness 1759, Francois Saucier, cadet, is a godfather.

From the St. Anne parish register it is learned that "le Sieur Jean B. Sausie, ingenieur," was godfather at Fort Chartres on the 19th of February, 1752.

In the same register, 12 avriel, 1758, Sausier was witness at the marriage of Marie Anne Belcour.

1758, 30 Jullet, Saucier again signs as marriage witness.

1760, 10 Juin, Saucier again signs as marriage witness, and is designated in the entry as "Monsieur Saucier."

1760, 8 Janvier, a negro slave of Saucier was buried.

There was in early days, Billon says, in St. Louis, Marie Barbe Saucier, wife of Julien Le Roy. They were married at Mobile in 1755. One of their daughters married Jean Baptiste Frudeau, first school master in St. Louis. Joseph Francis Saucier was godfather of some of the Le Roy children in 1767.

Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, of the Illinois State University, found in the Canadian Archives, copied from Archives Coloniales a Paris, several legal documents emanating from "nouns, Francois Saucier, Arpenteur, Soussigné, &c;" and states. "Saucier was still Arpenteur in 1737, beginning in 1707 (Archives C. F. 224, p. 24 and G. p. 80), most of the documents of the period in the volume were written by Saucier."

I am also indebted to Prof. Alvord for the following records copied from those of Kaskaskia and St. Anne, (translated):

Feb. 6, 1733. Village of M. Renault. Francois La Croix and his wife Barbe Meaumenier, sold to their son-in-law, Henry Saussier, a *terre* of three arpents front extending from the Mississippi to the bluffs, lying between land of M. Girardot and Francois La Croix, for three hundred minots of wheat, payable in yearly instalments of 10 minots. Furthermore, Saussier promises to maintain in repair the commune which crosses his land, and to pay the seignioral rights. Signed by cross for La Croix, and cross for his wife. Robbilhand witness. Jerome, Notary.

Sept. 22, 1737, Jean Baptiste Saucier acknowledges to have sold to Joseph Deruisseau and company a family of slaves, consisting of a negro, a negress, a negroit and negrillome, for 2000 livres payable in wheat, &c. Made in the house of J. Bte. Bauvais. Signed J. B. Saucier, J. Deruisseau, (and company), J. B. Beaulieu, Joseph Leduc, Barrois. Notary.

Sept. 17, 1758, at the request of Henry Saucier, and on the order of M. Buchet, judge in the jurisdiction, the Royal hussier (auctioneer), Louis Robinet, offers at auction before the door of the parish church of St. Anne, after mass, land of two and a half arpents front extending from the Mississippi to the bluffs, situated in the commons of the village of St. Philippe du Marais, belonging to the said Saucier. It is offered three times, and is finally sold for 305 livres to J. Belcour. Signed Robinet, Huissier. Belcour signed with a cross. Metius, Duchemin, witnesses.

April 19, 1763. In the house of M. Deselle at Prairie du Rocher an elaborate marriage contract was entered into by Sieur Antoine Duclos,

Ecuyer, "natif de la paroise de St. Anne a la Nouvelle Chartres, aux Illinois, diocese de Quebec, fil de Sieur Alexandre Duclos, ancien officer des trouppes de sa majeste tres Christienne," on the one part, and "Demoiselle Marie Jeanne Saucier, fille d Sieur deffunct Francois Saucier, ingenieur pour le Roy," &c., of the second part, with consent of her mother, Sieur Pierre Girardot, her appointed guardian, of Dame Magdeliene Loiselle Girardot, her aunt, Demoiselle Felicite Saucier her sister, and Sieur Baptiste Saucier her brother. Parties and witnesses all signed in presence of Viault Lesperance, Notary.

In Collet's "Index" to the old Cahokia marriage register the following are the only Sauciers recorded:

Baptiste Saucier married Marie Josephine Belcour. Before 1784.

Francois Saucier married Angelique Roy *dit* Lapensee. Before 1787.

Matthieu Saucier married Catherine Godin, 1788.

Matthieu Saucier married Josette Chatillon, Sept. 8, 1812.

fils du Baptiste Saucier fille du Francois Chatillon.

et Marie Josephine Belcour et Margaret Lachaine.

And all of them enumerated in the census of Cahokia in 1787 are:* Matthieu Saucier; Matthieu son fils; Francois Saucier pere; Charle son fils; Bte Saucier pere; Jean Baptiste son fils; Matthieu son fils.

The three heads of families here named, brothers, Baptiste, Matthieu, and Francois Saucier, were quite prominent in the public affairs of Cahokia and vicinity during the latter part of the eighteenth century, all three serving for some time as Justices of the district court.† Matthieu and Francois Saucier "founded the village of Portage des Sioux in Upper Louisiana,"‡ and for many years were successful traders there.

The writer of this sketch was for many years intimately acquainted with Matthieu Saucier, (my mother's uncle), son of above named Baptiste Saucier. He was born at Cahokia in 1782, married Josette Chatillon *dit* Godin in 1812, and died at Prairie du Pont in 1863, at the age of 81. He was a very intelligent, quiet and unassuming gentleman, with but limited education, and only traditional knowledge of his ancestral genealogy. All that he knew of his grandfather was that he came from the Loir district in France, and had been an army officer at Fort Chartres. He believed him to have been the Francois Saucier mentioned—as quoted in this Note—in the *Journal de la Guerre du Mississippi en 1739, etc.,* as the "ingeneur" who led a detachment of "Arcanzas" and a few Canadians on the route taken by d' Artaguiette against the Chickasaws in 1736; and, in Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile,* as a "sub engineer in 1751;" and the inference of his death prior to 1760 from the registry of marriage of his widow, in July, 1761, to Alexandre du Clos, in which he is alluded to as a retired (reformé) lieutenant and engineer at Fort Chartres. That lieutenant Saucier evidently was in the King's military service on the Mississippi at quite

* Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. II. Cahokia Records. C. W. Alvord. 1907, p. 624 *et seq.*

† Cahokia Records. Alvord, 1907.

‡ Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois,* p. 286.

an early day, and probably served as an engineer in the building of the first Fort Chartres, and perhaps of the second Fort also.

In 1737 there was a Jean Baptiste Saucier at Prairie du Rocher, of whom nothing is now known, and who is supposed to have come to America with Renault in 1721.

It is learned from the St. Anne parish records that "le Sieur Jean B. Saucier, ingenieur", was at Fort Chartres in February, 1752.

Reynolds says, "in 1756, Jean Baptiste Saucier, a French officer at Fort Chartres, and married in that country. After the country was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, he located himself and family in Cahokia where he died. He had three sons: Jean B., Matthieu, and Francois Saucier, who were popular and conspicuous characters in early times in Illinois."*

Edward G. Mason states—in his *Kaskaskia and its Parish Records. Chicago, 1881. p. 18.*—"On May 22d, 1806, (occurred) the marriage of Pierre Menard, widower, and Angelique Saucier, granddaughter of Jean B. Saucier, once a French officer at Fort Chartres, who resigned and settled in the Illinois country."

* Pioneer History of Illinois, 2d Ed., Chicago. 1887, p. 286.

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